

BC 51
F 851.5
B1

Extract from:
The Sea, the ship,
and the sailor
Golden, Mass.:
1925



Map of the Northwest Coast of North America
From a Dutch map after the Vancouver survey, now in the Harvard College Library

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN BARTLETT OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE YEARS 1790-1793, DURING VOYAGES TO CANTON AND THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

On March 19th, 1790, I shipped on board the ship *Massachusetts*, Capt. Job Prince, commander, bound on a voyage to Canton in China. She had been built at Quincy, by Daniel Briggs, for the firm of Shaw & Randall, and when brought to Boston, under jury masts, she excited a considerable sensation for she was the largest merchant vessel built at that time in the United States and nearly eight hundred tons burthen. As the voyage to China was almost new to Americans at that time hundreds of persons made application for a station on board.

The *Massachusetts* was acknowledged by all to be a fine ship and as she lay at her wharf, the officers from several French men-of-war, then in the harbor, frequently came aboard to gratify their curiosity and express their admiration. On her arrival at Batavia and also at Canton, the commanders of various foreign vessels came aboard to examine her and admire her model. She undoubtedly was the handsomest vessel in the two ports. But when her lower hold was opened at Canton, for the first time since she left Boston, she was rotten. She was loaded principally with green masts and spars, taken on board in winter, directly out of the water, with ice and mud on them. The lower

deck hatches were caulked down in Boston and when opened at Canton the air was so foul that a lighted candle was put out by it almost as soon as by water. We had four or five hundred barrels of beef in the lower hold placed in the broken stowage and when the fresh air was admitted so that men could live under the hatches, the beef was found almost boiled; the hoops were rotted and fallen off and the inside of the ship was covered with blue mould an inch thick.

It is of interest to remark that the ship had three full crews shipped before she sailed, due to a prediction made by an old woman fortune teller, Moll Pitcher of Lynn, that the ship would be lost on the voyage and every man on her.

We set sail from off Hancock's wharf on Sunday, the 28th of March, 1790, at 4 o'clock, P. M. When the anchor was hauled to the cathead and the block was brought up suddenly against the under side of it, the hook of the cat-block snapped short and the anchor ran to the bottom stopping the ship's way. This occurred before the eyes of a great crowd of spectators thronging the wharves, houses and stores. We fired a salute after getting under way a second time. We then proceeded down the harbor and came to anchor at Congress Road where we remained until the next day when we slipped our cable, leaving the pinnace to take it up, and with a fair breeze ran outside of the light house and hove to for the boat.

We sailed eastward, making some southing, until April 24th, and then set a course south by west along the coast of Barbary and Guinea in water that was discolored much of the time.

On June 25th, we ran in for Cape Agulhas with steering sails below and aloft. Saw a large flock of birds. At 5 P. M. got soundings in eighty fathoms of water with soft, muddy bottom. Nothing of consequence took place during our passage across the Indian Ocean.

On July 21st, while scraping the ship's sides in order to paint and varnish, one of the stage ropes accidentally gave way and three men were thrown overboard. One other man caught hold of something alongside the ship but the others went astern. The second mate, with four hands, went to their assistance in the jolly boat. Two of the lads swam to the stage and were saved but Samuel Tripe of Portsmouth, N. H. was drowned, not being able to swim. This happened off Java Head.

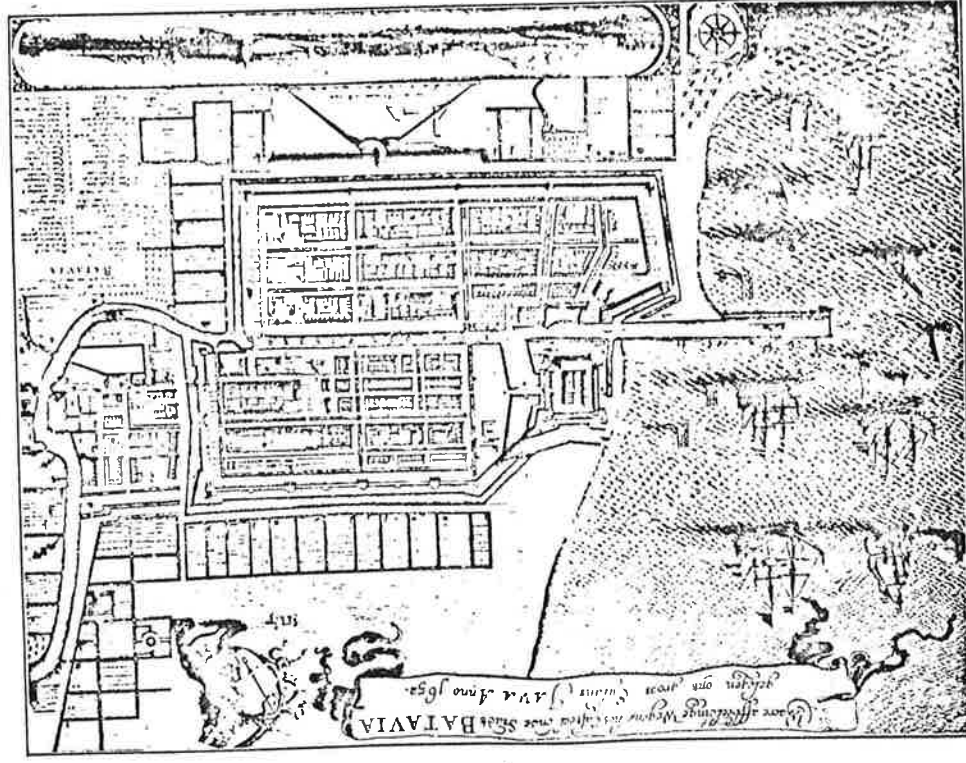
Made the Island of Java on August 22d, being 140 days from Boston. Five days later spoke the ship *Laurient*, of London, bound for Canton. We gave her a salute of seven guns which she returned. The captain and merchant¹ went on board of her at four P. M. On the 30th we saw Pigeon Island and ran in for it and anchored. Just as we let go our anchor, Thomas French, midshipman, while handling our mainsail, lost his hold on a gasket that was slack and fell from the mainyard across the barracade or rail and was instantly killed. He was a fine young man and was much lamented by the ship's company.

On August the 31st we got under way at 8 A. M. and ran in for an island called "the henroost," which lays before Batavia town, and at one P. M. came to anchor in seven fathoms of water and saluted the fort with nine guns. We buried Mr. French on Pigeon Island.

When the captain and merchant went ashore they found that American trade was stopped in Batavia and so after wooding and watering we bought stock enough to last for our passage to China, and on September 8th got under way bound for Canton.

Batavia is built much after the manner of Amsterdam in Holland, with canals running through every street with a large one let in from the sea. The morning after sailing from Batavia, two strange men came on deck. They were called aft and examined and it was found by their discourse that they had run away from the hospital. One was named John Armstrong, an Irishman, and the other was John Vannable, an Englishman. September 11th saw a sail standing to the northward and westward which we supposed to be a Chinese junk.

We made the Grand Ladrone Island on October 7th and kept beating to windward all night. The next day we steered to the northward and eastward trying to find a passage through the islands as we could not get a pilot out of any of the China junks, of which there were two or three hundred in sight. Saw a ship standing towards us from the northward and hove our main and mizzen topsails to the mast to speak to her. She proved to be Captain Le Gray bound to Canton. We followed him through the islands towards Macao and came to anchor in Macao Roads on the 9th, where we found the *Washington* of Providence, Captain Donni-son. The captain and merchant went ashore to get a pilot for Wampoo and at 12 meridian, he came in a large boat called the *Venger*, belonging to Captain Kendrick² of the sloop *Lady Washington*, of Boston. Got under



PROSPECT OF BATAVIA, JAVA
From an engraving made in 1652 and now in the Macpherson Collection

way that night with several East India ships (the *Sir Edward Huse*, *Royal Admiral*, *Belvidere* and *Abergavanna*) and the *Washington* of Rhode Island, all bound up to Wampoo. The next day we went through the Bocca or Tiger's Mouth, where there is a small fort kept up by the mandarins to board ships that go up the river to Wampoo.

Before we reached a landing the wind died away and some two hundred China boats that they called sampans, with many men, women and children in them, towed us up the river and at 6 P. M. we moored above all the rest of the shipping finding three American vessels there, — the *Nancy* of New York, the *Brothers* of Philadelphia, and the *Washington* of Rhode Island.

On October 25th, the captain representing the Danish Company, with an English Commodore and several other gentlemen came on board with the intention to buy our ship and our merchant went up to Canton with them to agree upon a price. While here our people began to grow sick daily. The ship was attended by a hopoo³ boat that found us in vegetables. About this time the servants of the captain and the merchant died; one a black man named Charlestown and the other a mulatto called Isaac. Our ship was sold for \$65,000 and all the men paid off. Some expected to be sent home; the English sailors' went on board of English ships; and I and eight others shipped on board the snow⁴ *Gustavus*, Thomas Barnet, commander, bound to the Northwest Coast of North America. The other men were: Thomas Williamson, John Wall, John Harris, Thomas Lunt, Charles Treadwell, Joseph Grounard, Benjamin Head, and Malachi Foot. We pre-

ferred this to going home in an old Danish ship that had lost her masts and bowsprit in a gale of wind and was eleven months from Denmark to Wampoo. She had been bought by Captain Metcalf⁶ to be sent to New York.

On November 5th I received my wages amounting to forty-nine dollars, and spent about thirty dollars for various articles to be sent home by Captain Prince who was returning in the ship *Washington*. At this time fifteen or sixteen of our old hands lay sick at the Bank's Hall. Those of us who belonged to the *Gustavus* went up to Canton, the next day, to the factory of our new owner, 'Squire Cox,'⁷ and received two months' advance pay, ten dollars of which went for our stores for the voyage. Most of us were sick at the time including myself. On the 11th, we went down to Wampoo and carried our chests and bedding on board the *Carnetic*, a country ship bound for Bombay, she having our stores on board, as our vessel lay at Lark's Bay, one of the Ladrone Islands, about twelve miles below Macao.

Two days later we went on board the *Gustavus*⁸ and for some days were employed in fitting our vessel for sea. We were allowed salt beef and fresh pork which was hardly eatable on account of its fatness which is the fault of all Chinese pork. The animals generally weigh from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds and it is remarkable that they can live upon so little. A Chinese hog doesn't eat more than half as much as an American hog of the same weight and their fat is very disagreeable being more like hog lard than American pork. Their bellies hang down to the ground when they are on their feet. We had plenty of bread

aboard that had been in China for more than eighteen months and was hardly fit for hogs to eat. This was the beginning of our voyage and only God knew how it would end.

November 14th, 1790, we got under way from Lark's Bay bound for the Northwest Coast of North America with thirty-one men on board, all in good health.

LIST OF MEN'S NAMES, RANK, AND NATIONALITY

Thomas Barnett	Captain	Englishman
Samuel Gray	Sailmaker	do
David Whitney	Second Mate	Irishman
William Gibson	Third Mate	do
William Emery	Seaman	do
John Wall	do	do
Henry Evans	Gunner	Welshman
William Howard	Carpenter	do
John McColanig	Chief Mate	do
Thomas Williamson	Seaman	do
Leonard Chapman	Boatswain	American
John Bartlett	Seaman	do
Thomas Lunt	do	do
Charles Treadwell	do	do
Joseph Grounard	Armourer	do
Benjamin Head	Seaman	do
Malachi Foot	do	do
John Harris	Captain of the Colors	Swede
Antony Jose King	Seaman	Portuguese
Manuel Antony	do	do
Manuel Decenter	Carpenter's Mate	do
Jose Antony	Seaman	do

Louis Antony	Seaman	Portuguese
Thomas Freer	do	do
John Mando	Cabin Steward	Manilla man
Antony Deaman	Cook	Goa
Angee		Chinese
Highee		do
Chinkqui		do
Archching		Native of O-why-hee

On December 19th we made the Island of Sanquin and came to anchor in Troner Bay close in shore in twenty-five fathoms of water and sent the long boat ashore for wood and water. The natives of this island are Malays and are governed by the Dutch. We found here one black Dutch sergeant who told us that our vessel was the first one that had been in the bay for three years. The natives were very shy and kept themselves armed during the entire time that we were in the bay. They behaved very civil to us but more from fear than for any other cause. They are a very deceitful people and when they laugh and play round you that is the time to be on guard against attack. The captain gave the sergeant a long coat and other small articles to buy some stock for the ship and he went ashore and did not return. After we were done watering, the third mate and four hands went ashore well armed to make trade with the natives who turned out to be well armed themselves and in less than two hours' time they loaded our boat as deep as she could swim with cocoa nuts, plantains, fowls, etc.

December 30th, we saw a small, low island not shown on our charts and about that time the native of O-why-hee died of scurvy. A week later we sighted a

lot of driftwood and rock weeds and other signs of land to the windward, the wind to the E. S. E. Probably undiscovered land as the charts make no mention of land in that direction. Sounded several times but could get no bottom.

We made the Northwest Coast of America on March 5th, 1791, after a tedious passage of seventy days attended with gales and dirty weather most of the time, and ran into Bartlett's Sound,⁹ coming to anchor with great difficulty as we could not find less than thirty fathoms of water a cable's length from the shore. The next day we came to anchor with a kedje under the lee of a small island where the canoes came off to us to trade with fish and furs. We soon parted from the kedje and not being able to find a good anchorage in this Sound we plied along shore in search of a safe harbor in which to overhaul and repair our rigging. This Sound takes its name from Captain Bartlett of the ship *Lourden* of Ostend, and lays in Latitude 48° 56" North.

After sailing along shore for several days we at last found the harbor of Wickannish¹⁰ which was pointed out to us by an Indian named Captain Hannah¹¹ who came on board not long before. Near the entrance was an island that had three trees on it that appear like a ship in stays and is called Ship Island. At four P. M. we saw the smoke at Wickannish. Captain Hannah had been in this harbor but once before but we steered according to his best judgement. Before long the natives on shore began to make signs to us to steer more to the northward which were not regarded by our captain and soon we ran on a ledge of rocks and came near

losing our vessel. We hove all sails back and fortunately she fell off the ledge into twelve fathoms of water. A boat sent to sound for the channel soon discovered the entrance between two islands and at five P. M. we came abreast of Wickannish town or village¹² which contained about two hundred houses or long huts of square form built about twenty yards from the water. We were soon honoured by a visit from their chief whose name was Wickannish. He was a tall, raw boned fellow who came attended by thirty or forty canoes with fish and furs to sell. Several of them were bound out a whaling with gear in the canoes. Their lances and harpoons were very curious being made of bone neatly polished. Their lines were made of animals' hides and their drags were made of skins blown full of wind in the form of a winter squash.

Early the next morning we weighed anchor and ran up to Cox's Harbour with the boat sounding ahead of us. The tide was running very strong at the entrance of the harbour and we were swept in alongside of some rocks and so near the shore as to rack the limbs of the trees with our yards and very near being cast away a second time. In this harbour we lay moored for several days as it was landlocked and a safe place in which to overhaul our rigging. One day the boat went ashore to kill geese which were very plentiful.

On Saturday, March 15th, the boat was sent with the carpenter and Charles Treadwell to cut wood at a point about a mile from the vessel and out of sight of her. Late in the afternoon the boat went to get the man and just as she went ashore three canoes put out from where our men had been cutting wood. They had



VIEW OF HABITATIONS IN NOOTKA SOUND
From an engraving by S. Smith, in Cook's *Voyages*, London, 1784

stolen a large iron maul and threatened to pick out the carpenter's eyes with their arrows when our boat coming just at that time saved their lives. The next day, at 10 o'clock, our second mate died of the scurvy having been sick for some time. He was born in Cork and was twenty-eight years old. We did not bury him until the sun was down and it was so dark when our captain was reading prayers that he began to damn his eyes because he could not see the print plainly.

We remained at this village until the 26th when we got under way at four P. M. bound to the north on our trading voyage. In all we bought forty skins at this place. A week later we made Douglass Island¹³ at the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound and saw Cape St. James.

On Thursday, April the 3d, we ran into a small bay and a great number of canoes came off with men, women and children in them. The dress of the men was made of three or four skins¹⁴ sewed together which covered them from their shoulders down to their knees. They were ornamented with bird's feathers all over their heads and besmeared with grease and paint. On their heads there were a great number of tails or locks of hair which were full of lice and grease and made them look very frightful. We learned that whenever they kill a man in battle, they cut off his hair and mat it up in tails and tie it on their own heads. The women, when young, bore a hole in their under lips and run a piece of copper through it and as the girls grow up they put in bigger and bigger pieces of wire so that at the age of twelve or thirteen they can put in a small piece of wood of oval form, about the size of a half-

crown piece. At the age of thirty, they can put in a piece as big as the palm of your hand. It hangs down below their chins.¹⁵ The morning when we first came into the bay they clapped their hands over their mouths to hide their teeth when they laughed, for they seemed to know themselves to be frightful to all strangers. When they are better acquainted they put aside all modesty. The young women were well featured. We had them on board at from ten to twenty years of age. Their fathers would instruct them how to behave while our men had to do with them. We bought some dried halibut of these natives. They cure it without salt. They had no furs but wanted us to go into the bay to anchor. It had the appearance of being a fine harbour but our captain would not agree to it and stood off and on all night while the natives made fires as a sign for us to come in. Their chief's name was Huegur.¹⁶

While running alongshore, the next day, we fired one of our three pounders and five canoes came off with about seventy natives. Their chief was a young man who came on board and behaved very civil and made it his business to trade for the rest of the company. We bought eighty skins which brought up our total in the hold to about one hundred and twenty. At eight o'clock this morning (April 4th), Louis Anthony died of the scurvy. He was born at Lisbon and was about thirty-one years old. As there was an appearance of bad weather we stood offshore and made a good offing.

For the next three weeks we had dirty weather and spent most of the time laying to under a Bellamy trisail and Dugarvin reef in the fore-topmast staysail. Our people began to grow sickly on account of the short

allowance of one pound of beef and a pint of rice every twenty-four hours. One day, six pounds of sugar was served for a mess of six men and once a week, a pound of pork and a pint of peas. On April 24th, the weather became more moderate and we stood for land and the next day saw land and ran close in and came to anchor in twelve fathoms of water with a hawser run out on each quarter and made fast to the limbs of trees ashore. The place was called Cloak Bay¹⁷ and their chief's name was Connehow.¹⁸ The natives came off with plenty of large halibut and other fish. The carpenter's mate, Charles Treadwell and I went ashore to cut wood and the natives behaved very civil while we were at work. There were thirty to forty there at a time, the most of whom were women who kept up a continual singing. The ship while here was surrounded by two or three hundred canoes at a time with a plenty of furs. The chief trade was iron, buttons and old clothes.

The next day, April the 26th, while trading with the natives on the quarter deck, a large canoe came alongside having on board a great number of spears and bows and arrows. The men began to flock on board in great numbers and at the same time we noticed that they were sending their women ashore which seemed to show a bad design. They also were seen to put on their shields and hand up their targets and pass their knives from one to the other on the quarter deck there being about one hundred and fifty of the natives there at the time. Seeing this we manned our tops with blunderbusses and the remainder of our men with small arms. Charles and I were on shore at the time of the fray with the natives on board. The women surrounded us on

shore singing their war song. We both took up our pistols, resolved to sell our lives as dearly as possible if they molested us. Soon the noise on board began to abate and the natives would not trade any more unless we would disarm our men. We did so as all was quiet. Their armed canoes went away and trade went on brisker than ever.

The next day the natives began to come in large numbers from all parts of the islands and the captain began to grow dubious of the appearance of things and at ten o'clock cast off at the stern and hove up the anchor to go out but we were prevented by a variable wind in the passage. Trade went on faster than ever when the natives saw that we intended to go out. There were about six hundred canoes alongside at the time. We bought about four hundred skins in this bay. The next morning we got under way bound southward with a great many canoes following us.

For several days we ran down the shore, part of the time bad weather holding us off. Our people who had been sick for the past month were now getting better daily. A few greens that we had picked up on shore had been a great service. Thank God! I was not sick at any time though sometimes eight or nine were sick at a time.

On Monday, May 4th, we hauled in shore in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with a light wind and a great swell but being a considerable distance from the land no canoes came off and we proceeded on our course to double Cape St. James. At this time the people began to grow uneasy on account of the food, as we had nothing but rice and fish to live upon and since the 24th of

March all the fish had been purchased by the ship's company with their own clothes except the 3d of May, when the captain served out two strings of beads to a mess to buy fish. But the beads were of little service to us and of little value to the natives so that it was fair to say that three-quarters of the fish was bought by the ship's company with no other allowance but rice and salt. When there was any beef allowed at 12 o'clock, the boatswain was always damning and swearing for his share of the slush for the rigging and the captain's servant was bottling off the remainder to fry fish to save the captain's butter of which he had four firkins aboard at that time.

At six A. M., on May 5th, we saw a breaker a point off the lee bow and with difficulty got clear of it for there was little wind and a strong current and heavy swell setting us directly upon it, but fortunately a light breeze sprung up and we wore ship and soon left the breaker astern. We then stood into Queen Charlotte's Sound and at four o'clock a canoe came alongside with sixteen natives in her of whom we bought forty skins. Five prime skins could be bought here for a sheet of copper; one skin for about two feet of bar iron or for ten spikes. 180 beads were served out here to each six men. Cape St. James may be well known by the five islands that lay to the southward of it. The next day no natives came off notwithstanding we fired a gun.

No pork was allowed this day and the slush barrel being empty the captain passed word forward for us to buy train oil with which to fry our fish, which was miserable, indeed, there being on board at that time sixteen tierces of beef, four of pork and two of flour and

two of split peas; four hogsheds of bread; five bags of sago; fifteen bags of rice and one cask of raisins.

On the morning of May 8th, we discovered an island in this Sound that the charts gave no account of.²⁰ It bore N. E. from us in Latitude $52^{\circ} 33' N$. Saw a great number of whales—two or three hundred at a time. At 2 P. M. two canoes came off to us and soon there were a hundred canoes alongside. Their chief's name was Clutiver.²¹ We bought a hundred skins here. At sunset the canoes went away. We lay offshore all night and the next morning four canoes came off having nothing but fish to sell. Continued steering alongshore to the northward and at 11 o'clock saw a smoke in shore. Four canoes came off with their chief whose name was Comeeshier.²² Bought seventy skins here bringing the whole number up to 775 now in the hold. The chief and his son remained on board all night. The next morning the tribe came off to the number of two hundred and fifty men, women and children and we bought 210 skins. The natives of this place were a very quiet set of people.²³ At 2 P. M. made sail alongshore, sounding all the way, ip from thirty-five to five fathoms of water.

Continued steering to the northward and at 10 A. M. on Monday, May 11th, saw a smoke in shore in Latitude $53^{\circ} 4' N$. and at 3 P. M. came abreast of a bay. Two canoes came off and said that their chief would come off the next morning. The captain bought a few salmon and served out two to each mess. The next morning we beat in shore with all sail set and at 2 P. M. brought up with the small bower in five fathoms of water. Several canoes came alongside and we bought



INTERIOR OF A HOUSE IN NOOTKA SOUND
From an engraving by W. Sharp, in Cook's *Voyages*, London, 1784

one hundred and fifty skins. Their chief's name was Skoitscut.²⁴ Got under way at 4 P. M. and stood off shore. From here may be seen at one view the main continent of America; the island on the west, the continent on the east, which forms Queen Charlotte's Sound. At 2 P. M. the water growing shoal we brought up with the small bower and soon several canoes came alongside. Bought one hundred and fifty skins here. At 4 P. M. got under way and stood offshore. One canoe lay astern all night and early the next morning we began trading. Several more canoes came off and we bought about fifty more skins which were cheaper here than at any other place that we had visited. A prime skin was bought for about ten inches of iron.

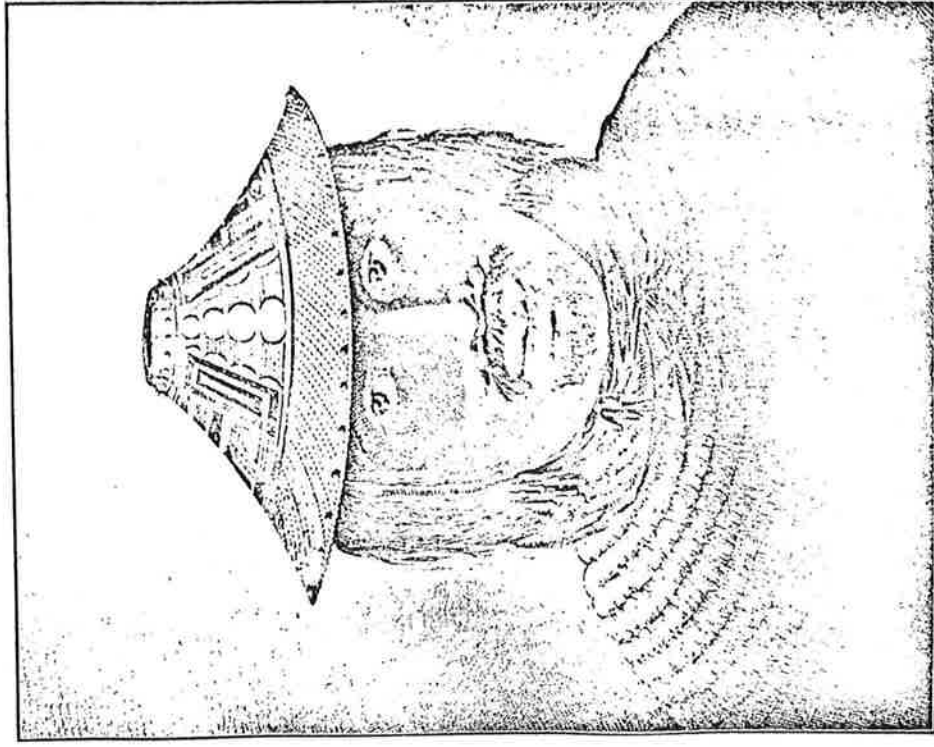
For several days we continued beating down the Sound and near Cape St. James. Several canoes came off and we bought a few skins and some dried fish. Our allowance between the sixth and the nineteenth of May was four small salmon, weighing about four pounds each, with rice and salt as usual. We expected to leave the coast about the first of August.²⁵

On May 26th we ran in close to the land and sent the boat ashore twice for wood having little left on board. The boat's crew discovered two or three fine harbours that could not be seen at a mile's distance from the land. The coast was so bold that a ship of five hundred tons could come within twice her length of the rocks. They saw many wild berries—raspberries, mulberries and blackberries, and a great number of sea otters. The land had a very remarkable appearance. The mountains were nearly perpendicular and appeared to be an entire rock. We supposed them to be

three-quarters of a mile high.²⁶ That day we were cut short four pints of rice and issued only sixteen pints for twenty men and had nothing but fish for six days past. The next day began with dirty weather. Several canoes came off from which we bought a few fish. At 7 P. M. bore away from the shore and proceeded on our course to the northward for the latitude 59° under close-reefed topsails.

On June 1st, 1791, in the latitude of 63° 6" we saw a remarkable high land²⁷ to the northward and westward, which was supposed to be about 160 miles off. Saw several smokes on shore and fired a gun but no natives came off. We supposed that they were not much acquainted with Europeans. The day ended with thick weather. Still running along to the southward. The next day at six A. M. came abreast of a sound that our drafts gave no account of but the weather continuing thick we kept beating off the entrance and the next day continued our course southward. The land appeared to be very high all along the coast. The tops of the mountains appeared high up in the clouds.

We had several days of dirty weather and the supply of wood and water began to be short. On June 6th several canoes came off to us, the first we had seen in that part of the coast. The men wore whiskers and the females ornamented themselves with fish bones²⁸ and wore one run through the division of their nostrils in their noses. I bought a fresh seal and had it fried for breakfast. It proved to be a delicate meat and was the first fresh meat we had had for nearly six months. The next day a canoe came off with a chief from whom we bought two beaver skins and some fish.



A MAN OF PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND
From the engraving by J. Basire, in Cook's *Voyages*, London, 1784

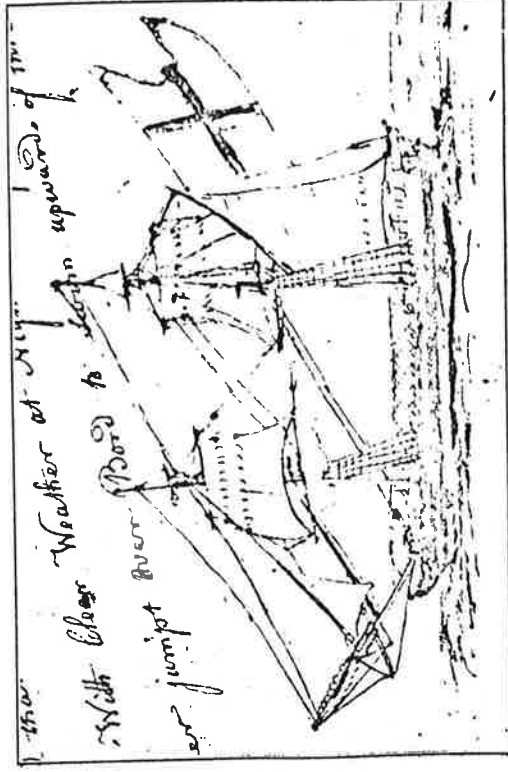
Nothing remarkable happened for several days but on the 10th four canoes came off with seventy natives. These were the stoutest men that we had seen on any part of the coast. They had no women with them and by their actions they seemed to have in mind an attempt on the vessel. At 11 o'clock they went away singing their war song and throwing their arms about them in a very savage manner. Bought nineteen skins of them which brought the total up to 1,218. They made signs for us to go into their harbour but our captain didn't think proper to go in and so we proceeded along-shore to the eastward. At 4 P. M., Samuel Gray died of the scurvy, aged about 32 years. He was born in the West of England. This was the fourth man that we had lost. Our ship was very crank owing to the greater part of the water being out.

June the 12th, we stood in for land and saw Mount Fairweather. This mountain was the highest land that we had seen on the Northwest Coast of America. The top of it appeared a vast height up in the clouds. Filled seventeen casks with salt water for the hold. Two days later we saw a sail astern. She soon came up with us and fired one of her lee guns and proved to be the brig *Grace*, of New York, Captain Douglass,²⁹ from Canton, six weeks out. She gave us our first intelligence of the Spanish War³⁰ and of five sail of English men-of-war going round Cape Horn.

On the 19th of June we finished wooding and watering in a very convenient harbour in Latitude 57° N. Here we tarred the rigging, blacked the masts and yards and painted and caulked the ship round. The natives were the most quiet and civil of any that we

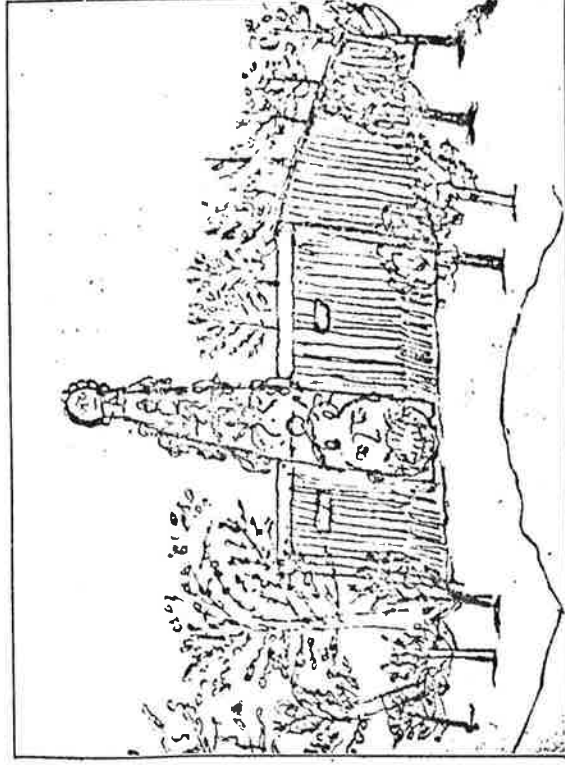
had seen.³¹ The chief trade was in old clothes of any kind. We lay here until the 23d and then dropped down the Sound followed by the natives who pitched their huts on shore abreast of the vessel. The next day we got under way and directed our course for Queen Charlotte's Islands, bound for Cloak Bay, and two days later came to in 19 fathoms of water and ran a hawser ashore from each quarter and made fast to the limbs of trees to steady the ship. There were few natives here in comparison with the number here when we left it before. Most of them wore red jackets and we knew by this that Captain Douglass had been here. We did not get a single skin here.

Connehaw, their chief, came on board and informed us that most of his tribe had left their winter quarters and distributed themselves among the islands for the summer. They return to their winter houses about the end of August. The natives at this place use no bread nor do they at any other part of the coast. The most of their living is fish which they cook in baskets by first digging holes in the sand and making the sand hot; then setting the basket in it and feeding it with hot stones until the fish is boiled enough. We went ashore where one of their winter houses stood. The entrance was cut out of a large tree and carved all the way up and down.³² The door was made like a man's head and the passage into the house was between his teeth and was built before they knew the use of iron. Our people were very uneasy and wished to proceed homewards on account of provisions being very short; bread in particular. Captain Douglass' assistance was inadvisedly refused as we were in need of bread and he of liquor of



THE SNOW "GUSTAVUS"

From the drawing in Bartlett's Journal, now in the possession of Lawrence W. Jenkins



HOUSE AND TOTEM POLE OF THE HAIDA INDIANS

From the drawing in Bartlett's Journal, now in the possession of Lawrence W. Jenkins. Supposed to be the earliest known representation of a Totem Pole

which we had a great plenty aboard. On the 3d of July, all hands went on the quarterdeck and told the captain that we could not live on our allowance of bread, it being three days between allowances. The captain said that it wouldn't do to eat up all at once and would not give us any more bread but allowed us caravansers one more meal per week and took away the allowance of flour—a fine exchange indeed, the flour being better than all the caravansers aboard. We told the captain that it wouldn't do for him and his officers, eleven in number with their servants, to have as much provisions as they could eat and keep fifteen hands before the mast upon a very short allowance and he had much to do to get the men to their duty again.

July 4th, the glorious day of America's independence, but our circumstances allowed us nothing to celebrate equal to our wishes. Unexpectedly the captain gave us an allowance of grog, extra, and the mates gave half a gallon of rack which was sufficient to last until night. In the morning we saw a brig bearing W. N. W. Several canoes came alongside and we bought twenty skins which brought up the number to about 1,683 in all. At 10 A. M. made all sail to speak the brig but could not come up with her. Supposed her to be Captain Kendrick from Lark's Bay.³³

July 6th, we ran in close with the cape and a canoe came off with three natives who told us that their chief with all their tribe had gone to war with Skeitcutes who appeared to be the greatest chief in the Queen Charlotte Islands. Bought some halibut of them and continued on our course up the Sound.

Nothing very remarkable happened for several days

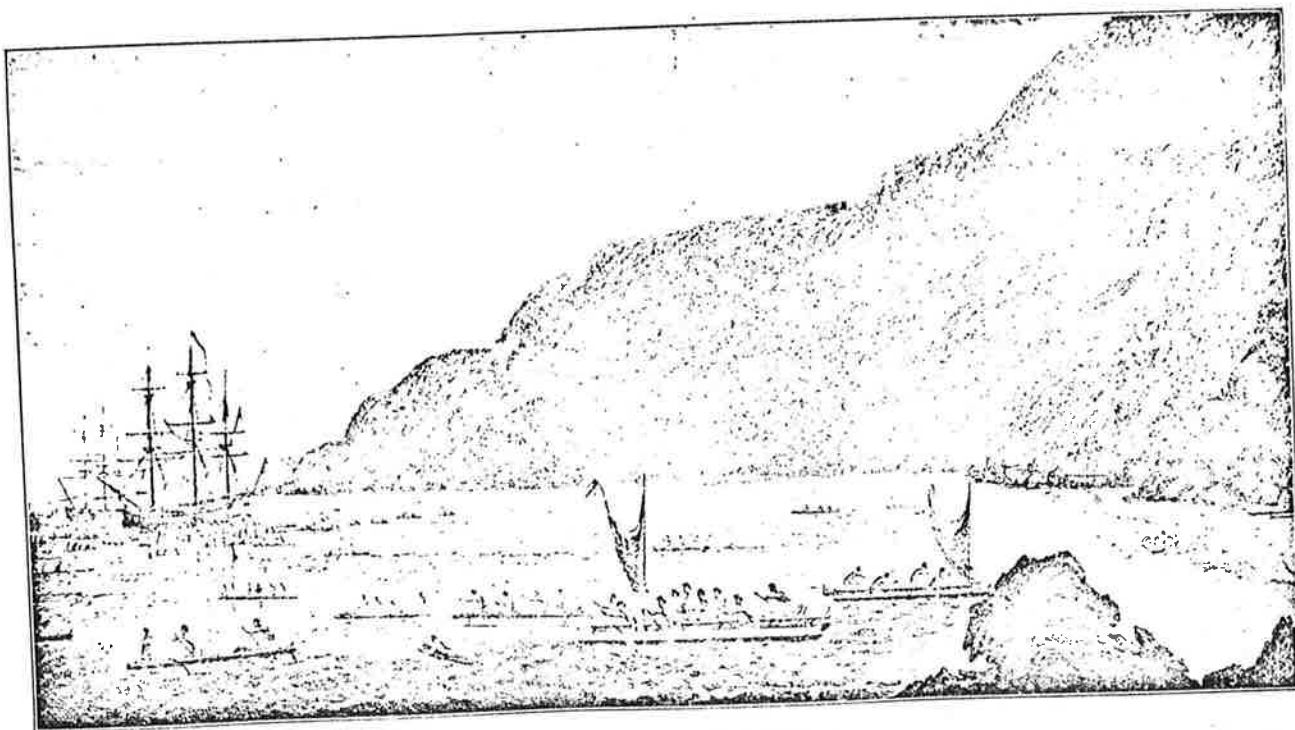
after this. We bought more skins bringing the number in the hold up to 1869 and on the 16th had a narrow escape from running on a reef in Norfolk Sound. Two days later we ran into Civility Harbour where we formerly were and moored the ship and began to paint her and tar the rigging. Here we lay for several days, the weather being dirty most of the time. On the 23d we unmoored and dropped down to the reef and the next morning sailed for Queen Charlotte's Island, which we saw on the 27th and here we left with pleasure the Northwest Coast of America, bound for the Island of O-why-hee where Captain Cook was killed. On the passage we ran into a gale that lasted for thirty-six hours the wind blowing all round the compass. It was called a "tuffune."³⁴ We were upon a short allowance of three pounds of bread per week and no beef, having nothing but our own salmon that we had bought with our clothes before we left the coast. At the Sandwich Islands we had expectations of getting a good supply of yams. The boatswain piped to dinner and turned the hands out as usual whether we had anything to eat or not. Our vessel also began to leak in her upper works.

On the 22d of August we began to see a great number of birds and much seaweed and early the next morning sighted land on the bow. It proved to be O-why-hee. At 10 A. M. several canoes came off with potatoes and hogs to trade. They craved nothing but iron in return. We bought their hogs at the rate of two spikes apiece. At 4 P. M. we came abreast of Kelakoo Bay³⁵ where Captain Cook was killed. Here we had upwards of three hundred double and single ca-

noes alongside at a time with men, women and children aboard. Their chief's name was Tianner.³⁶ He would not come on board on account of his taking and killing Captain Metcalf's son in a schooner³⁷ and only left one man alive in her. This was done while young Metcalf's father lay in another bay only six leagues away. Captain Metcalf commanded the brig *Eleanor*, mounting 16 guns. About the same time that his son was killed he had his boat moored astern with one man in her to keep the natives from stealing her but they swam off in the night and killed the man and took the boat ashore. The next day they brought out some of the man's bones to sell. They had been scraped. This unfortunate man was a Portuguese. His name was Anthony. Seeing this man's bones put Captain Metcalf into such a rage that he ordered all his guns loaded with grape shot and the hinges of the ports greased and after he got his vessel all clear for action he got one of the chiefs to taboo one side of her so that he might have a good chance to fulfill his desire. Tabooing is an authority that the chiefs use over the lower sort of the people and is death if anyone of his class break it. The taboo on one side of Captain Metcalf's brig brought all the natives over on the opposite side. The captain then ordered all hands to heave beads overboard to draw the natives as near as possible to the vessel and when he had collected upwards of three hundred canoes alongside he called out "Anthony," the name of the man who was killed, as a signal for his men to fire. They did so and killed upwards of three hundred men, women and children. At the time he knew nothing of the death of his son.

All the next day we lay with the main-topsail to the mast and the courses held up, trading with the natives off Kelakokoo Bay. We bought a great number of hogs, potatoes, bread fruit, grass lines and tapper^{ss} which they make from the bark of trees and use for their clothing. It looks very much like calico but will not stand the water. We had upwards of one hundred girls on board at a time but not a man excepting one at a time. One of their chiefs came alongside with one of young Metcalf's muskets. He was one of the stoutest men that I ever saw. Our captain compared his hind quarters to that of a bullock and would not suffer him to come aboard. Afterwards the captain asked him for his musket and made signs for him to stand on the quarter bridge of our vessel and when he did so the captain gave him his musket and at the same time fired a musket over his head with made him jump overboard and swim ashore. At night every man took his girl and the rest jumped overboard to swim upwards of three miles for the shore.

Early on the morning of the 25th of August, we took our departure from the island of O-why-hee which is a very fine island with level land as far as we could see to the windward and with mountains on the lee shore with snow on them all the year round. At 10 A. M. saw the island of Moue. A great number of natives followed us from the island of O-why-hee. At six o'clock the next morning we saw the island of Worhoo and at 10 A. M. came to in twenty fathoms of water. A great many natives came alongside with plenty of hogs, potatoes, yams, bread fruit, grass lines, spears, mats, mother of pearl beads and a great number of curiosi-



VIEW OF KARAKAKOOA BAY, OWYHEE

From the engraving by W. Byrne, in Cook's *Voyages*, London, 1784

ties. All hands were employed the next day in buying hogs and vegetables for a sea stock. During the morning the natives stole the buoy from our anchor and kept stealing and cutting all the hooks and thimbles they could get at.

The next day, Sunday, August 28th, the king, his brother and son, came on board and made the captain a present of three red feather caps and some tapper cloth. Our captain gave them a musket and some powder. This day they sent all the handsomest girls they had on board and gave every one their charge how to behave that night. When they gave a signal every one of them was to cling fast to the Europeans and to divert them while they cut our cable. At night every man in the ship took a girl and sent the remainder ashore. At 12 o'clock at night the watch perceived the ship adrift and at the same time every girl in the ship clung fast to her man in a very loving manner. All hands were called immediately. I had much to do to get clear of my loving mistress. The girls all tried to make their escape but were prevented by driving them all into the cabin. We found the cable cut about two fathoms from the hawse hole and made sail and stood off and on in the bay all night and the next morning ran in and came to with the best bower. Saw a number of canoes trying to weigh our anchor. Three of the girls jumped overboard and two canoes came and picked them up. We fired a musket at one of them and a native turned up his backsides at us. We fired three or four more times so they were glad to leave off and make for the shore.

The following morning a double war canoe came off

with the men singing their war song. They paddled round our vessel and when abreast of the lee bow, seeing no anchor, they gave a shout and went on shore again. At eight o'clock forty or fifty canoes came off to trade but seemed shy of us. We bought some hogs and potatoes and sent several messages on shore to the king but could not get our anchor from him. At 12 meridian, the king sent a man off to dive for the anchor pretending they had not stolen it. The boat was manned and two bars put in her as a reward for the native if he found the anchor. He dived several times but did not go to the bottom. He would stay under water longer than any man we ever saw. We could see him lay with his back against the bottom of the canoe for some minutes and then let himself sink down and come up again about three or four yards from the canoe, pretending that he had been to the bottom. Seeing this we were fully convinced that they had our anchor ashore and meant to keep it so we sent another message to the king and told him if he didn't send the anchor aboard that we should be obliged to fire on his town and lay it in ashes.

The next day we could not get a canoe to come alongside and could see natives running in from all parts of the island to assist the king if we attempted to land, which our mate was for doing but our captain didn't approve of it and so at 11 o'clock we got under way and fired four or five broadsides into the village. We could see thousands of the natives running, one on top of the other. On the beach were a number of canoes off the lee bow so we made for them and fired a broadside that stove a great many of them and sent



HAWAIIAN ISLAND GIRLS

From a photograph in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.

the natives a swimming and diving under water. We ran by two men swimming and shot one of them through the shoulder and killed him. We also ran alongside of a canoe with a man in her. We stood by with ropes to heave to him to get him on board at the same time pointing six muskets at him if he refused to take hold of the rope. He layed hold of it and hauled himself aboard and let his canoe go adrift. We then hove about and came abreast of the village a second time when the natives on the beach fired a musket and kept running along with white flags flying in defiance for us to land. Seeing no possibility of our getting our anchor we bore away and ran out to about two miles from the shore where we gave the native on board six spikes and let him go to swim ashore. The seven girls on board we gave a number of beads and let them go likewise.

From here we set a course for the island of Otehy²⁰ where we were in expectation of getting a new supply of yams. At 6 A. M. saw the island bearing E. by N. and ran down the lee side. A great number of natives came alongside with articles to barter for iron. Several of their chiefs came aboard when we came abreast the watering place. One brought a letter to the captain the contents of which gave us warning of the bad intentions of the natives. It was written by Captain Ingraham of the brig *Hope* of Boston. He said the natives of that island were treacherous and deceitful and required good looking after. They informed us of an anchor lying in Anahoo Road. Whether it was cut away from some vessel or parted while trying to heave it we were not certain. We took this to be a deceitful story

to decoy us into the bay. Their intentions were happily prevented by our taking our farewell of the Sandwich Islands at 3 P. M., September 1st, when we bore away for Canton with one of the natives on board. After all our trouble at these islands our captain bought but only three hundred weight of yams to last us on our passage. Of bread, we had but fifty pounds on board.

For the next three weeks nothing of importance happened. We were attended with clear and pleasant weather. But on the 23d the weather began to look black and stern. The next morning the topsails were sent down and the top-gallant yards and mast and we scudded under the foresail. The vessel began to make water fast so that it was necessary to keep one pump going all the time. The pump that was made in China, out of two pieces of wood, began to blow and would not work. At 12 o'clock at night we shipped a very heavy sea which broke in the main grating and the water kept pouring down the main hatchways until it was up to the lower deck. In this miserable condition our ship was so waterlogged that she would not steer. In about half an hour she broached to. The foresail being handled would not wear and we were under the disagreeable necessity of cutting away our mainmast. After the mast went she wore round before the wind and all hands were called to clear the wreck for the mast kept beating under the counter so that we had much ado to get clear of it. All hands then turned to the pump and sucked her in about four hours' time, to our great joy, as we were expecting every minute to go to the bottom. At 8 o'clock the next morning, a sea pooped and stove

in all the dead-lights which kept the pump going continually. All hands then went to work and took the lower deck-hatches for dead-lights to keep the tops of the seas from beating in at the cabin windows and stove up the chest to nail over the main hatchways.

The next day at 4 P. M. the gale died away to a calm but the weather still looked black all round the compass and we went to work and stove up the long boat that lay in the lee scuppers and hove her overboard and lashed the small boat, bottom upwards, to the ring bolts. It was well that we did so for at 10 P. M. another gale sprang up which blew harder than the first. At one o'clock a sea pooped us which stove in all the hatchways that we had for dead-lights and set us a bailing out of the after hatchway which wet one half of our cargo.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the next day, September 27th, we shipped a sea that struck us on the larboard quarter and stove the small boat into a thousand pieces. It also washed overboard three men and we could not give them any assistance. They were John Wall, Antony Frair and Jose Antony. At the same time all the spars broke adrift and broke two men's legs. The next morning the topmast was hanging over the bows and the wind blew to that degree that there was not a man on the ship that heard the topmast when it broke. The fore-yard also got loose and blew twenty or thirty yards from the vessel. All hands were obliged to lash themselves to the pumps and could but just keep her free by pumping and bailing all the time. All hands were beat out for want of victuals having had nothing to eat but half a biscuit and about an ounce of

cheese since the 24th of the month. God only knows what kept us alive for the wind would take the tops of the seas and blow them continually over us. If our vessel had not had a high quarter deck we should all have perished from the top of the seas that blew over us so that we could not tell whether it rained or not. At 4 o'clock that afternoon, a sea pooped us that filled our cabin half-full of water, wet all the bread and upset the cogs of the wheel and broke it in two pieces and cut in two pieces the man's lip who was steering. In this pitiful condition our ship would not steer but lay in the trough of the seas. At the same time the pump got choked and all hands became discouraged expecting every minute to be the last. After much ado, however, we got the pump working and she sucked again in about five hours' time. At 10 P. M. the gale died away and one man was set to watch and the rest of the hands went to sleep.

The next day the wind abated and the water began to grow smooth and at 12 meridian, all hands were called to get up a jury mast and set the fore-topmast gallant sail upon the foremast to keep her steady. We cut a mortise in the stump of the mainmast to step the jury mast and at night the mast was all ready to get up in the morning. We also overhauled the hold and found all the water spoiled except two hogsheads and the liquor also spoiled as well as was all the bread on board, so there was nothing left but Sandwich Island pork and sago to last us the passage to China.

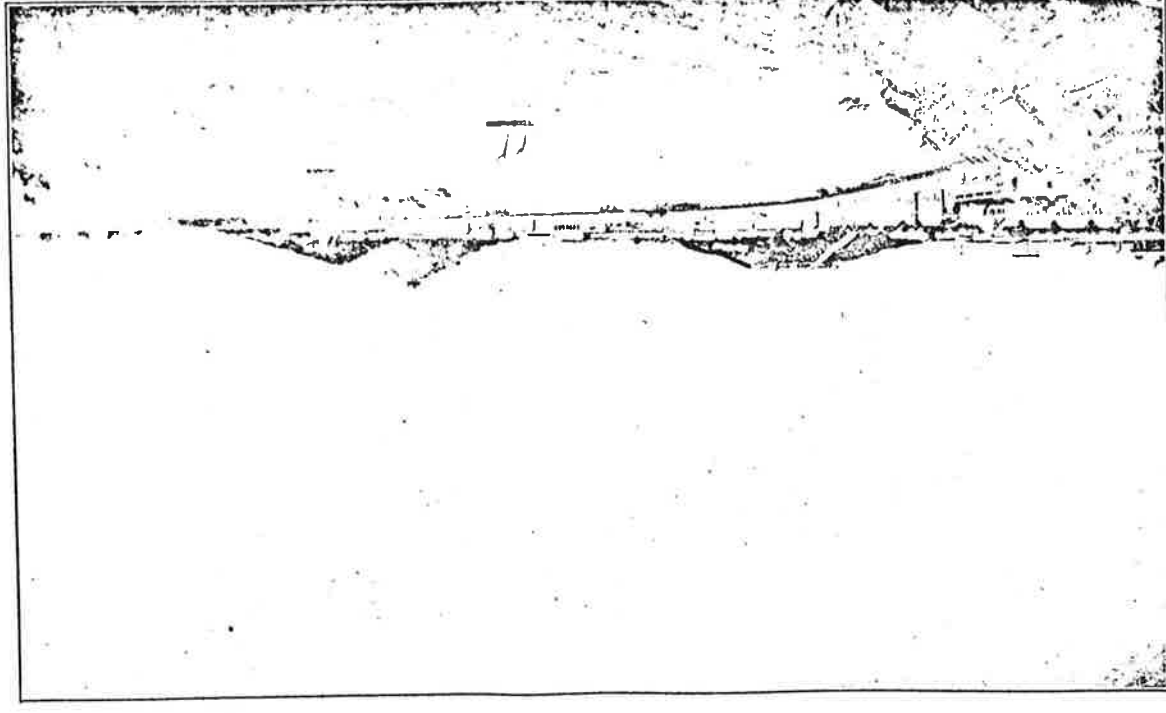
It was October 22d when we made the island of Formosa and ran alongshore, the natives making smokes as a sign for us to come in but none would venture off.

Four days later we saw about a hundred Chinese fishing boats but they all seemed very shy of us. After a great deal of trouble we got a pilot out of one of them who agreed to pilot us to Macao for nineteen dollars, and at four o'clock that afternoon we saw the Grand Ladrone Island,⁴⁰ and at six came to anchor at Macao Roads and heard the news of the death of our owner, Squire Cox. The next morning the boats came alongside with plenty of bread and eggs and fruit but the captain bought for himself and none for the ship's company. This day, the last of the water was used and as the captain would not get any in during the time we lay in the Road the ship's company bought their own water of the Chinese at the rate of two dollars for five gallons.

The Northwest men having been stopped from trading⁴¹ at Canton, at 9 A. M. on the 28th, we got underway and ran down to Lark's Bay, intending to smuggle our skins. After mooring at 4 P. M. the captain called all hands aft and gave them notes to receive their wages at Macao from Mr. McIntire⁴² and as we received our notes he sent us into the boat and would not suffer any to come aboard again for fear we should take skins out of the vessel. He also took care to search our chests before they went over the side for he well knew that we all had skins in the vessel and for that reason he took every advantage of us to try to wrong us out of our wages. The fear of losing them made us put up with more than we otherwise would have done. At 6 P. M. we put off for Macao leaving William Emery, my partner aboard, for the boat was overloaded and could not carry him. We landed at Macao at nine o'clock that

night and the mandarins or custom house officers overhauled our chests to see if we had any skins with us, for their laws were very strict so that if they found any skins in our possession the Governor could send us as slaves to Goa. If a Chinese was found with any it meant present death for him. We all went to lodgings at a Portuguese house where we paid at the rate of ten dollars per month.

October the 30th, I received my wages from Mr. McIntire, amounting to ninety dollars, and then hired a China boat and went down to Lark's Bay and went on board the *Gustavus* to see if there was any possibility of getting my skins. When I went aboard I told them I had turned a fisherman and hoped to carry passengers with my boat up and down from Lark's Bay to Macao. The captain commended me for it and said that I was an industrious man and would live where one half of the ship's company would die. I then went to my partner to see how we could manage to get our skins out of the vessel, for I was resolved to lose my life or to gain what I had so dearly earned. He told me there was a strict watch kept every night, with pistols and cutlasses, to keep boats from coming alongside and he believed that the captain mistrusted that I was coming aboard that night, knowing that I had skins in the vessel, for he had ordered all the arms to be loaded in case I should come on board. My partner and myself then laid the plan out so that I was to anchor my boat so that I might hear his signals and not be seen. I did so by anchoring my boat under the land. He was to have the twelve o'clock watch that night and they were all Portuguese in his watch. Their custom was to strike



Macao, China
From a Chinese painting in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.

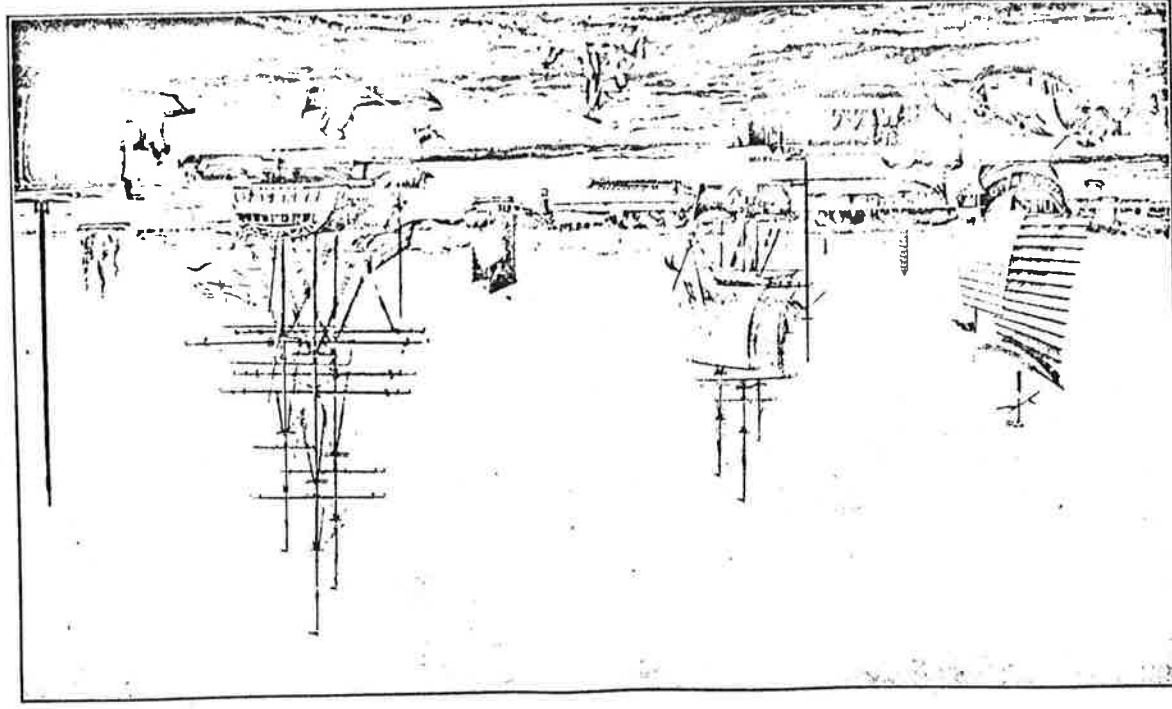
the bell before they rang her and he said he would bribe them with a skin and would strike the bell himself. The signal was to strike one bell over the number and I was then to come under the bows and take the skins from him. At twelve the signal was given and I went under the bows and got the skins safe in the boat. Just then one of the Chinese went and told the second mate that I was on board but the mate proved to be my friend and held the Chinese fast until I got clear with my skins — seventeen in number — which I sold the next day for six hundred dollars. So there was an end to my Northwest voyage.

On November 12th, 1791, I shipped on board the Portuguese ship *St. Cruz*, Capt. Jose Francisco, commander, bound for Lisbon, at six dollars and a half per month wages. With me went Robert Lovis of Marblehead in Massachusetts. The captain gave us a note to the boatswain for he had command of the ship while she lay in the harbour. The captain told us if we wanted liberty to go on shore for a day, the boatswain would grant it, but if for a longer time, to come to him and we should have three or four days liberty if we desired it. The Portuguese were a very kind people to strangers and used both of us very well for they would call their own men out to work at four o'clock in the morning and let us lay in our hammocks until we pleased to turn out ourselves.

In a few days we were obliged, for some time, to keep ourselves armed on account of a Manilla man who had killed three Chinese. It appeared that this man and the Chinese were gambling together when the Manilla man found that the Chinese were cheating him. He immedi-

ately drew his knife and killed two of them on the spot and with the bloody knife in his hand he ran through the streets crying for all Christians to keep out of the way, and made his way to the waterside. To get across, he got into a boat but the man refused to put him over the water and he stuck his knife into the poor man's body and killed him. His knife broke off in the man's body which prevented him from killing any more. He then made off and was away three days before they caught him. The Chinese wanted three Christians in place of the three Chinese who were killed.

On December 25th, 1791, I shipped myself on board the *Lady Washington*, Captain Kendrick, commander, bound for the Northwest Coast of America,⁴³ then laying at Lark's Bay. This brig had been taken by the natives on the Northwest Coast on a previous voyage. They were lying at Coyours on the coast and the captain was in liquor one day and trusted more to the natives than did his own people and would suffer great numbers of them to come on board. His gunner went to the quarter deck and told him the natives would take the vessel and that it was dangerous to let so many come on board. The captain struck the gunner and pushed him off the quarter deck so that he had no time to take the keys out of the arm chest. When the natives saw this they took possession of the arm chest immediately and began to flock on board from the shore in great numbers and made a terrible noise with their war songs. They took the men's hats off their heads and laid their knives across their throats and threatened to kill them if they made the least resistance and then drove them all into the hold. They then went to



From an engraving by E. Duncan, in the Macpherson Collection, after a painting by W. J. Huggins, showing the view from Lane's Island looking towards Canton

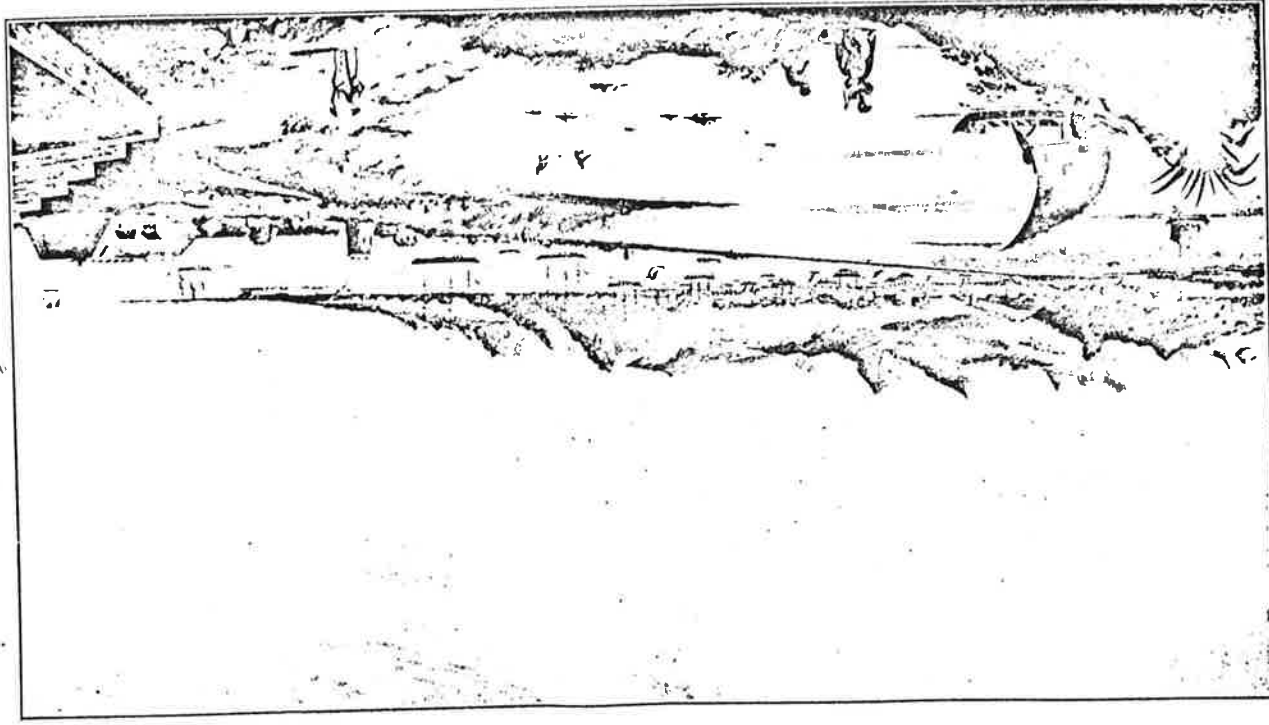
work and divided the copper that lay upon the deck and kept running out on the bowsprit and yelling to their women on shore to come aboard and assist them for it seems that the women are more courageous than the men. All this time Captain Kendrick was on the quarter deck with a piece of bar iron in his hand treating with them. Twelve of the savages stood with knives pointing at the captain's body to prevent him from going below. All this time he was conversing with his men below, telling them to muster up all the arms that they could find, which was only two pistols, one musket and two cutlasses, and be in readiness to make a sally up on deck when he should give the watch word, which was — *Follow me*. Coyour, the chief, knowing that he had sufficient command of the deck, made a spring below to see what force was below and Captain Kendrick at once jumped down the hatch upon the chief's back and at the same time called out *Follow me*. At that, all the men made a sally and the chief seeing this, was for making off with all his tribe. In less than five minutes the ship's company had possession of the deck and had broken open the arm chest and killed forty of the natives on the spot without losing a man.

On January 16th, 1792, I shipped myself as gunner on board the snow *Eleanore*,⁴⁴ Capt. Simon Metcalf, commander, bound for the Isle of France. We sailed the next day and on February 26th ran into Bantam Roads, at the island of Java, and came to in twelve fathoms of water. We were about three miles distant from the fort and soon sent a boat ashore to buy a few hogs and vegetables for our sea stock. At the landing we were met by a Dutchman who conducted us to the

gates of the castle⁴⁵ and in about a half an hour a sergeant came out with a halbert and walked before us up to the Governor's house. He received our officers kindly and gave us liberty to buy anything we pleased. Here I fell in with an Irishman, one Robertson, that I formerly knew at Amsterdam, and he showed me all about the place except where the monument was erected over the people killed at the massacre of Bantam.

We arrived at Port Louis, on the Isle of France, on March 12th and discharged our cargo of 2,500 chests of tea and then began to repair our vessel; got in new beams, fore and abaft and bought copper and iron and other trade for a Northwest voyage. On May 9th, our captain bought a small French brig, about 90 tons burthen, for \$4,000. She was full of water at the time which was the reason they sold her so cheap. She had struck coming in and they thought she was bilged. We hove her down and found her to be a good vessel. We mounted ten guns on her and got her in readiness to go with us on our Northwest voyage. I was sent on board as gunner and had my wages raised. Young Robert Metcalf, the captain's son, was appointed captain of the brig which was named the *Ino*. Here I found Captain Low, an old shipmate of mine, lying sick in the hospital. He had been there and at Bourbon for three years and had sent his vessel home. The American captains made a contribution and collected upwards of four hundred dollars to pay his passage in the ship *Sally*, Captain Kenneday. The ship sailed and left him behind. When Captain Low heard of it he took opium and put an end to his life.

By the middle of July we had taken in our copper



View of Port Louis, Isle of France
From an engraving in the Macpherson Collection

and iron for the trading voyage and also a great quantity of cordage and canvas for China, on our return there from the Northwest coast; but buying all this trade and also the brig *Ino*, and repairing the *Eleanore*, brought down our captain's purse so low that he was obliged to sell off all the trade that he had on board for the Coast and alter his voyage from the Northwest coast to that of an oil, and sealskin voyage to the island of Desolation or Munsair, Kerguelen, in the southern Indian Ocean. He had just enough money left to pay his men their advance and get his vessels out of port.

I received my wages on the *Eleanore*, to the amount of sixty dollars in paper, on September 9th, and ten days later we cast off our head fast and hung to stern moorings and at 12, meridian, the pilot came aboard and at 4 P. M. we dropped down to the buoys and came to anchor. At 12 o'clock at night we got under way with the *Eleanore* in company, bound for the island of Madagascar, to wood our vessels and buy rice and other things for a sea stock to last us the passage to Kerguelen. The first day we were out the *Eleanore* began to make water on account of her striking on an old rock when coming out of the Isle of France.

On September 23d, at 12, meridian, we came to anchor at Port Dauphin, Madagascar, in 12 fathoms of water with a rocky bottom, it being a very bad roadstead. Later we weighed anchor and beat up under the fort which was called the one-gun battery. The natives came down with white flags flying to direct us to the best anchorage and would have had us haul our stern close in to the landing place and make fast to a gun that the French had laid down for that use, but our

captain paid but little attention to their signs and came to anchor in twenty-five fathoms, about half a musket-shot from the battery. Sent a boat ashore and found one white man here, a German, a renegade from the Isle of France, who had but little command over the natives. They met us at the landing armed with muskets, spears and knives and conducted us to the fort where the white man was who informed us that the king lived at a town four miles in the country and would be down the next day. He told us that we must make the king a present or we should not be able to get any rice. The next day the king came down with a large train of armed men and we sent him two muskets, a barrel of powder and a kittysol as a present and desired him to come on board; but he thought the present was not sufficient and would not come that night.

Early on the morning of the 25th, the king made his appearance again on the bank and the boat was sent ashore for him to come on board but he would not except that we left an officer on shore in his room. Mr. Cartright, the second mate of the *Eleanore*, agreed to stay on shore and accordingly the king came off with his queen. She had lived at the Isle of France for two years and understood the French tongue very well and served as an interpreter for the king. With them was an Arabian, a stout, savage-looking fellow who wanted as many presents from us as though we had come to slave instead of to wood and water. The king asked for a great number of things that took his fancy, particularly our muskets that he saw laying in the cabin. When he found that our captain would not give him any more presents he began to grit his teeth in a very

savage manner, being about half drunk at the time, and soon went ashore grumbling, and knocked down two of our wood cutters. Seeing this our people all took to the boat and came aboard bringing Mr. Cartright with them. At the time, the *Eleanore* had five girls and three men aboard and wouldn't let them go on shore.

In the afternoon they began to fetch down the wood that we had cut and piled it up on the beach and made signals to us to come and fetch it. Accordingly we sent a boat ashore for it but by the time we got our boat half laden the king made a signal with his spear, from a hill near by, for his people to close upon our boat's crew and they flew upon our men and took two of them on their shoulders, viz., John Bradley and Francis de Mace, a Frenchman, and ran away like a parcel of deer. The rest of our men took to the boat and defended themselves with billets of wood for the natives ran into the surf and tried to drag the boat on shore. It was upwards of half an hour before they could get clear of them and the boat was no sooner out of the surf than they began to fire with muskets. One musket ball went through the stern of the boat and wounded the boatswain in the arm. By this time both vessels began to fire at them. Our vessel had a brass four pounder which I loaded with nearly half a nine pound cartridge, but the captain insisted upon having more powder put in and so I loaded her almost up to the muzzle and after elevating the gun for the shore, I took a long stick of fire, for with the common brichens the gun would fly round against the capstan, and for the same reason I went behind the capstan to fire her, to prevent

her breaking my legs. But our cook, being about half drunk, ran with a brand of fire and fired her before I could do it myself and the gun burst and wounded the captain on his lip and the cook in his arm and knocked all the victuals out of the caboose. At the same time two men were killed on shore which soon put an end to their firing for before that they were firing from behind every bush on shore.

The next morning, at daylight, we saw the natives busily employed in digging a hole in the wall of the fort and at 8 A. M. they pointed a gun at us, but at 12, meridian, they sent a flag of truce down to the shore for our boat to come on shore and make an exchange of prisoners. We did so and got our two men on board but kept two of the natives still on board. The next day it blew a very heavy gale, right upon shore, so that we expected every minute to break adrift and drive ashore to be left to the mercy of the savages; but fortunately at four o'clock the wind died away and we got up the yards and topmasts.

The morning after began with clear and pleasant weather with light airs off land. At 6 A. M. both vessels got under way and ran out of the harbour and hove to while our boats went in and tried to find the anchor of the *Eleanore* which she lost while trying to weigh. They went in close under the fort and kept sweeping for the anchor and all the time the natives kept pointing their gun at us and threatening to fire if we did not send their two men ashore. Our captain told them if they fired at us he would hang them both at the yard arm and that prevented them from doing any mischief. At 4 P. M. we gave up looking for the anchor and ran

alongshore to find another harbour, called Port Louis. On the morning of September 28th, we came to anchor at Port Louis and their king came off and gave us liberty to wood and water. The captain gave him a small swivel and some liquor and he promised to supply us with rice. He seemed to be fully acquainted with what had happened at Fort Dauphin. We also bought a bullock. They behaved very civil to us but told a great many deceitful stories about the rice for in a day or two we found that they hadn't got any for themselves to eat, much less to trade to us.

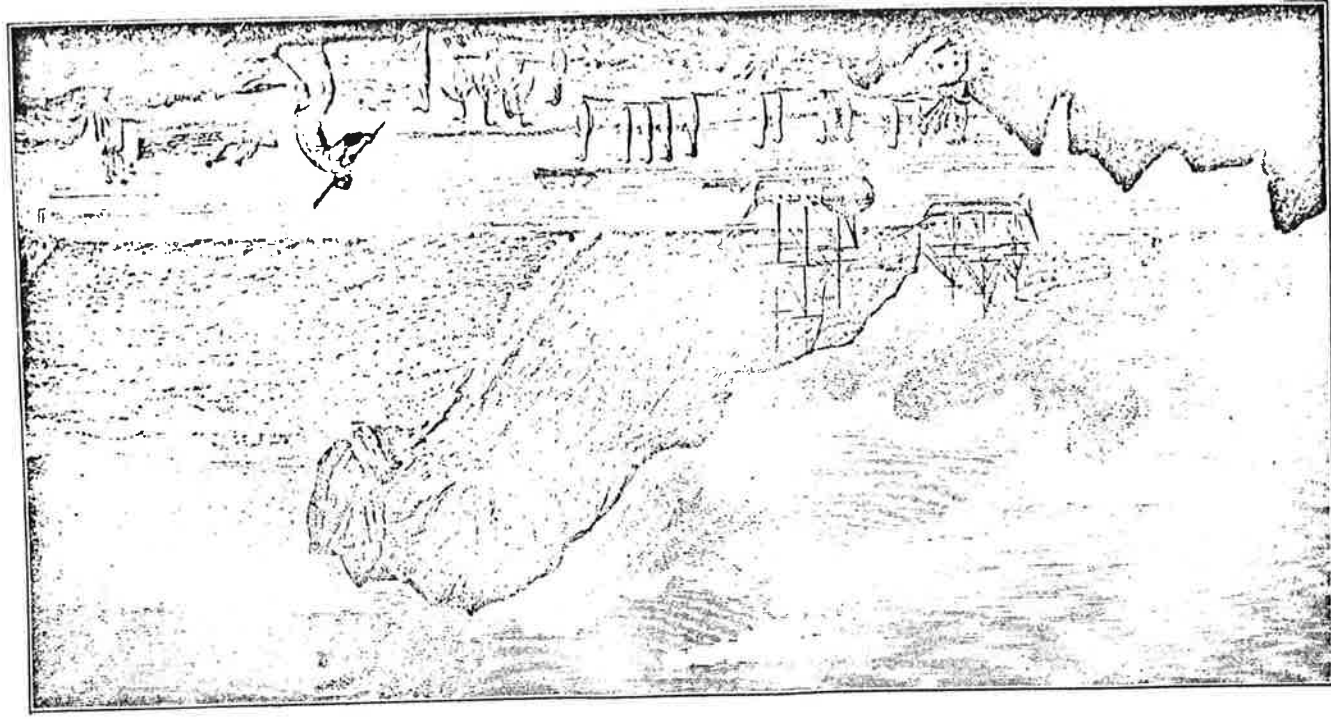
October 1st, 1792, began with clear weather and all hands employed in getting everything clear for sea and at 10 A. M., seeing no prospect of getting any rice, we weighed anchor and got under sail eastbound for the islands of Kerguelen. Until the 25th, nothing remarkable happened save that the *Eleanore* continued making water so as to keep one pump going continually. That day she hoisted a signal for our boat to come on board and when coming away, Captain Metcalf gave to his son a small copper speaking trumpet to take on board with him, but Mr. Porter, the chief mate on the *Eleanore*, claimed the trumpet and said that it was his and refused to give it up. The captain then asked the armourer and found that his two mates had cut the top of the copper stove without orders, which put him into such a rage that he broke his two mates and made Mr. Williamson, the mate of the *Ino*, the mate of the *Eleanore*, in place of Mr. Porter, and made me mate of the *Ino*, in the place of Mr. Williamson.

November 29th began with clear and pleasant weather it being the first fair day that we had had for the past

ten days. Early in the morning we saw a great number of penguins, divers, and rock weeds and other signs of land. At 5 P. M. saw Mr. Blith's Cape,⁴⁶ distant about four leagues, and several other barren rocks covered all over with birds, after a tedious passage of fifty days attended with dirty, rainy and blowing weather with our decks covered with water most of the passage. At 7 P. M. we ran by Cape Francisco, which is a high, barren rock standing nearly perpendicular with penguins covering it nearly one third of the way up. It makes one side of Christmas Harbour. When we doubled the cape we saw the *Eleanore* laying at anchor in Christmas Harbour and ran in and came to in twenty-five fathoms of water about half a mile from the arch that Captain Cook gives an account of in his voyage to this place. We sent the boat on shore at the arch and found it covered over with penguins. The boat's crew brought off a great number of their eggs.

The next morning it blew very fresh out of the harbour and both vessels broke adrift and drifted out a considerable ways and hove to in our cables and found that each vessel had lost one fluke from its anchor. Later in the morning we beat up into the harbour and sent a boat ashore and went by the directions that Captain Cook gave and found the bottle⁴⁷ laying in a pile of stones with a lead cap over it. Broke it open and found the English two-penny piece and *Mons'r Kurlen's* and Captain Cook's letters and also a letter of Captain Durgin of the brig *Phœnix*, from Macao. Saw a great number of sea elephants, sea lions, bears and seals but very few of the seals were furred ones.

Seeing no prospect of getting any skins for China on



View of Christmas Harbour, Kerguelen Land
From an engraving by Newton, in Cook's Voyages, London, 1784

account of their being the wrong sort for that market, the next morning we weighed anchor bound southward in quest of a good harbour in which to load our vessels with oil for the Isle of France and to overhaul and repair our rigging and also to heave the *Eleanore* down to stop her leaks. Saw a great amount of kelp and rockweed with sunken rocks, their tops about two feet below the surface and very dangerous to shipping, for alongside these rocks will be found twenty-seven fathoms of water. At 4 P. M. came to anchor in a very fine bay and sent a boat ashore and found plenty of sea elephants, lions and seals. Moored both of vessels' sterns inshore and made fast to the rocks.

All hands went ashore the next morning to erect a couple of tents in which to boil our oil and at 6 P. M. all was completed and we killed eighteen or twenty lions and elephants and took the blubber from them and got our pots at work the evening. All hands were then put upon an allowance of flour—four pints for four men and no bread—so that our chief living was penguins and their eggs and a sort of wild cabbage that we picked up on the shore. It had a kind of peppery taste and was the only vegetable that grew on that barren land. During the next two weeks we were employed in making oil and fetching blubber from other parts of the island. On the 16th, we hove the *Eleanore* down to try to stop her leaks.

On January 1st, 1793, Captain Metcalf made or marked out the thirteen stripes and "U. S. A." on a sheet of copper and stuck it in a rock with an iron standard with braces of the same to prevent the wind from blowing it down and left a bottle with a letter in

it and named the place *Port Ino*. Twelve days later we finished getting on board the oil — six hundred barrels in all — and at 10 A. M. got under way bound for the Isle of France. Hove to off Christmas Harbour to send on shore the bottle with Captain Cook's letter, but the wind blew so fresh that it was impossible for a boat to land and we proceeded on our course. Made the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam and ran close in towards Amsterdam which we could see was on fire in several places.

I sailed from the Isle of France on March 17th, 1793, in the ship *Pen*, a South Seaman belonging to Dunkirk, Capt. Obed Fitch, commander. This ship belonged to Mr. Rotch, an American merchant living at Dunkirk.⁴⁸ At 6 P. M. ran by the island of Bourbon, bound into Mosambique Channel to cruise for sperm-ceti whales and thence to Delegoa Bay to load our ship with right whale oil for Dunkirk.

Saw large schools of spermaceti whales on April 5th and the first and second mates' boats put off and gave chase to them while the captain, with his boat's crew, stayed on board to follow the boats with the ship until they got fast to some of the whales. They rowed for upwards of an hour when all the whales went down and they lay on their oars and kept a good outlook for their rising again. In about half an hour's time, a whale came up and the chief mate got fast to her which soon raised the rest of the school round her, for if you strike a whale, and the rest of the school are at the bottom, they will rise immediately and lay like so many logs of wood on the water for some time. Then they will draw up in straight lines and run to windward, side by

side, as if they were so many soldiers. When the captain saw that the chief mate had got fast, he put off with his boat. We met a whale coming with head towards the head of our boat so that we struck her head and head which hove the line out of the chocks of the boat and nearly swept every man out of her. The whale sounded and took the line abaft to the loggerhead of the boat and brought her stern down to the water.

Four days later we saw a school of whales and killed six of them and got four on board. They made sixty-two barrels of oil. On the 14th, while still cruising in the Mosambique Channel, early in the morning we saw a large school of spermaceties and loaded away all three boats. Our boat killed three, the chief mate two, and the second mate two. Got them all cabled safe alongside when the wind sprung up and blew very fresh and two of the ropes, that we had fast, broke and we lost two whales but saved the other five which made us forty-two barrels of oil.

On May 8th we killed two more whales and saw twelve or thirteen waterspouts which were broken up by a heavy clap of thunder. The next day, sent the mate's boat after a humpback, but it came back without her. On the 12th, saw a large school of spermaceties, killed seven and saved four. Began to cut in at 6 P. M. and finished cutting and got the try works under way at 6 o'clock the next morning. The body made us eighty barrels of oil and the head matter, ten barrels. We then had 255 barrels in the hold. During the rest of the month we killed five whales. On the 31st spoke the ship *Leveret*, Obed Bunker, commander, from Dunkirk bound into Delegoa Bay after a load of

right whale oil. We agreed to mate our ships and to go as partners and at 6 P. M. we shaped our course for Delegoa Bay.

At 4 P. M. the next day we made Cape St. Mary's, which makes on side of Delegoa Bay, and ran into five fathoms of water and lay to that night with our heads off shore, about two leagues from the land. Two days later we sighted three ships laying in a small bay. One of them was trying out. On June 4th saw a right whale but could not make fast. Lost the fishhook overboard at 10 A. M. At meridian, Capts. Hess and Gardiner came on board and informed that the Portuguese governor had ordered the ship *Dolphin* out of the bay and not to kill any more whales. He said that he would send for a frigate to drive all the ships out of the bay. At 2 P. M. came to anchor in nine fathoms of water off Red Head. Found here three whaling ships, viz. the *Dolphin*, Capt. Aaron Gardiner, the *Niger*, Capt. Hess, belonging to Laurient, and the *Edward*, Capt. Cager Gardiner, from Dunkirk. Hove up the small bower and found it stranded about two fathoms from the clinch. Cut it off and shifted it end for end.

June 5th began clear and pleasant. At 4 P. M. called all hands out to get their breakfast before daylight to be in readiness to go in the boat, which is the rule of whalers. At 6 A. M. saw a whale and all the boats put off in chase. The second mate got fast to her and Mr. Hammond, Captain Bunker's chief mate, got fast to the calf. There were six boats on her. Hove three irons into her which made her spout blood. Gave her three lances and killed her. The killing place of a right whale is between the eye and the fin. At 12, merid-

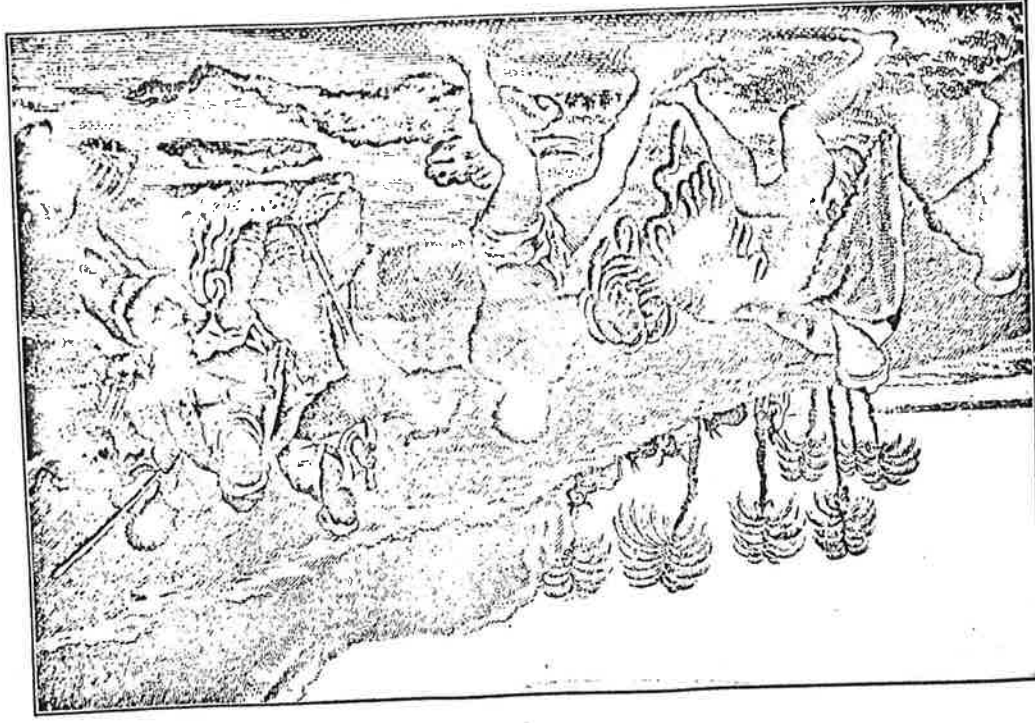
ian, the ship *Planter*, Capt. George Hale, arrived from London, and the ship *America*, Capt. *Thuten* Gardiner, commander, from Dunkirk, both whaling ships. The whale that we killed, Captain Bunker took; the next is for our ship. At 3 A. M. the next morning our ship broke adrift. We let go the small bower and brought her up again. At 9 A. M., hove short and our captain, being unacquainted in taking up anchors, would heave in both cables at once which brought the sheet cable across the small bower and put us to a great deal of trouble. We hove up the small bower, hooked the cat and brought the anchor to the opposite cat head, unbent the cable and cleared it of the other cable and then bent it again. At 4 P. M. we saw a cow whale with her calf and two boats went after her. She got galled and ran out of the bay, which put them to a great deal of trouble. At 6 P. M. they came aboard.

Mr. Whippey killed a porpoise on July 9th and that morning we saw the tarpaulin hoisted on board Captain Bunker's ship, for all captains to come on board and dine on roast pork. This afternoon our chief mate took a hand to moor the ship but made as bad a hand of it as the captain did. The next morning all the captains went on shore to the Portuguese fort to see if they could make any trade with the governor and also to buy some refreshment for their men. At the landing we were met by a great number of the natives, more civil than we expected. The governor gave us liberty to buy anything from the natives except ivory and we bought one bullock, a calf, a goat and some fowls, sweet potatoes and plantains. The governor set the natives to kill the bullock for us and they drove spears into

him. When the beast found himself wounded he began to run at a great rate, with thirty or forty natives after him, until they had twenty-two or three spears in him which at last brought the beast to his knees. They then came up and soon killed him. The man that skinned him was to have his guts which made a great disturbance amongst them. In fighting for the guts one man cut another man's hand almost off. The natives took the guts as they came out of the bullock and ate them without cleaning and the dung would cling to each side of their mouths while they were eating. What spare guts were left they hung down their breasts to eat some other time. We were told the natives were descendants from the Hottentots who inhabit about the Cape of Good Hope. At 12 o'clock at night we got all safe on board.

The next day was Tuesday and at 6 A. M. all the mates from the ships went down to Cow Bay to look out for whales and all the captains went on board of Captain Bunker to divide the stock that had been bought at the fort. The mates came back at 4 P. M., not having sighted any whales. As they came down the river they cut some mangroves for iron poles. Saw a troupe of sea horses and a man on shore fishing who made off as fast as possible as soon as he saw the boats. This day our people invited Captain Bunker's people on board to partake of a sea pie. We entertained them with a fiddle and had plenty of grog. At 7 P. M. they went on board. The most of them, and also our own people, were drunk as a result of the frolick.

June 12th, the mates put off in search of whales and late in the morning we saw a whale coming with eight



HOTTENTOTS DEVOURING THE ENTRAILS OF BULLOCK
From an engraving in Drake's *Collection of Voyages*, London, 1770, in the Library of Congress

or nine boats following close after her. She was coming with her head towards the head of our boat. When she was within twice the length of our boat we laid upon our oars by which means we lost our chance of her and the boats of the ship *America* killed her. This day the *Planter* killed one and the *Edward* one. The next morning three vessels arrived from Dunkirk, viz., the ship *Benjamin*, Capt. Isaac Hussey, the ship *Corjue*, Captain Swain, and the brig ———, Capt. James Whippley.

The next Saturday Mr. Whippley got fast to a whale which ran him a great way off and the sun going down and we being about seven leagues from our ship, with the wind and tide against us, we made a signal with a jacket upon an oar for Mr. Whippley to cut from the whale and to go aboard. We got on board at 12 o'clock at night after rowing nineteen hours against wind and tide the most of the time that day.

Tuesday, June 18th, 1793, at 6 A. M. our boat and one other went out to look for whales and found one drifted on the shore. It burst and made a report as loud as a three pounder. We cut the irons out. The *America* killed one today and the *Planter* one. The next day our captain went up the river to go on board of Captain Whippley's brig, to bury Christian Johnson in the earth for the scurvey in his legs.⁴⁹ Also went to make trade with John Eney, one of the head chiefs belonging to King Copall country but could not make any trade for bullocks. The next day we went on shore to the King Copall country and at the landing saw John Eney standing at high water mark, dressed in an old surtout coat and a small cocked hat. He made it

his business to place all the natives on the grass as they came down to trade with us. When the captains advanced up the beach he came down to meet them and saluted them with a low bow.

* * * * *

Just at this interesting point the Bartlett journal comes to an abrupt ending and little else is now known of his after life and adventures save copies of two letters that appear at the end of his journal, showing that he had been pressed by some English man-of-war.⁸⁰ On Jan. 21, 1795 he was at "Brunswick," on board some ship shortly going to sea, and then in bad health and destitute condition. He had applied for a discharge to Lord Charles Fitzgerald and to the Port Admiral, Sir Peter Parker, but without success. Mr. Johnson, the United States consul, had laid his case before Mr. Thomas Pinckney, the American Minister, who had not been able to secure his release. He was hoping at that time to secure his "India note for wages" in order to obtain some necessities and the letter to the unknown correspondent closes with the statement that he had never taken any bounty money or wages and that he never would and he was fully determined "never to take up arms for any but my own country, let the consequences be what it will." Amasa Delano, the second officer of the *Massachusetts*, on which Bartlett made his voyage to Canton, wrote a "Narrative" of his voyages and adventures which was published and in it he states that Bartlett was born in Boston and died at some time before 1816.

INDIAN VOCABULARY

In use from the Latitude of 52° North to the Southward about Charlotte's Island.

Iron	.....	<i>Achyeach</i>
Coat	.....	<i>Codats</i>
Cut	.....	<i>Coo</i>
Chief	.....	<i>Smoket</i>
Sing	.....	<i>Cutoutluck</i>
Sleep	.....	<i>Cude</i>
Ship	.....	<i>Clue</i>
Skin	.....	<i>Nicke</i>
Small	.....	<i>Surmon</i>
Sun	.....	<i>Luxstuckus</i>
Buttons	.....	<i>Comalong</i>
Beads	.....	<i>Cowet</i>
Long	.....	<i>Eueone</i>
Look at anything	.....	<i>King</i>
No	.....	<i>Come</i>
Not good	.....	<i>Pashack</i>
Knife	.....	<i>Carth</i>
Woman	.....	<i>Eno</i>
Water	.....	<i>Hartle</i>
To go away	.....	<i>Cluter</i>
Good	.....	<i>Lux</i>
To ask the name of a thing	.....	<i>Kisingtingtang</i>
Present	.....	<i>Tingester</i>
To tread	.....	<i>Wattele</i>
A tin pot	.....	<i>Scutlong</i>
More	.....	<i>Quan</i>
The Moon	.....	<i>Cong</i>
Copper	.....	<i>Cul</i>

9. Barkley sound, the southernmost of the sounds on the west coast of Vancouver island, named for Capt. Charles William Barkley who traded here for furs in 1787, while in command of the *Imperial Eagle*, a British vessel, but sailing under the Austrian flag in order to evade the monopoly of the South Sea Company.

10. Port Cox, in Clayoquot sound, which lies west of Barkley sound and is about fifty miles distant. Wickanish was the chief of that region and his name, spelled in various ways, appears in all the accounts of early voyages.

11. This was chief Cleaskinah, but he exchanged names with Captain Hannah of the *Sea Otter* in 1786. The custom of exchanging names, in token of friendship, was quite common on the coast.

12. The Indian name of Wickanish's village or town was Opitsat. It is commonly called Clayoquot village at present and is situated on Meares' island in Clayoquot sound. Haswell calls it Opitsel'ah; Hoskins, Opitsitah; Boit, Opitsatah; Father Brabant, Opissat. It will be found on Meares' map of Port Cox, being the northernly one of the two villages there shown. It was destroyed by Capt. Robert Gray on Mar. 27, 1792. Boit says that it was half a mile in diameter and contained more than two hundred houses. "Every door you entered was in resemblance to an human and beast's head, besides which there was much more rude carved work about their dwellings, some of which was by no means inelegant." See "Oregon Historical Quarterly," vol. xxii, p. 303.

13. One of the Scott islands lying off the northwestern extremity of Vancouver island. No other trader seems to have given them this name. Hanna, in 1786, named them Lance's islands; Dixon, in 1787, named them Beresford's islands; but as Lowrie and Guise, who had preceded Hanna in 1786, had called them Scott's islands, Vancouver placed that name on his chart and it has remained.

NOTES ON BARTLETT'S NARRATIVE

By His Honour F. W. Howay, LL.B., F.R.S.C.,
of New Westminster, B. C.

1. Probably the purser, Nathaniel Shaw, a brother of the owner of the *Massachusetts*.

2. For a sketch of the life of Capt. John Kendrick who commanded the first trading venture sent to the Northwest Coast from Boston, see "Oregon Historical Quarterly," vol. xxiii, pp. 277-302.

3. A custom house boat which was usually placed near foreign vessels to prevent infractions of the strange Chinese regulations; these boats were always ready to supply provisions.

4. Of the sixty-one men on board the *Massachusetts*, twenty-three were British.

5. A snow was a two-masted, square-rigged vessel somewhat like a brig, but having the spanker on a gunter mast just abaft the mizzen mast. The terms "snow," "brig," and "brigantine" were used almost interchangeably on the Northwest Coast.

6. Very little is known concerning this man who was one of the earliest Americans to enter the Northwest trade. It is possible that he may have been there a season before the coming of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, usually spoken of as the pioneer American vessels in this trade. Bartlett afterwards sailed with him to the Isle of France and thence a sealing.

7. Squire Cox, was John Henry Cox, well-known in the fur trade of the Northwest Coast.

8. *Gustavus III*, appears to have been her full name.

14. The cutsacks, or cotsacks as Meares calls them, of the traders, usually made of three sea otter skins.

15. This is called the labret or stiaie, and the custom prevailed on the Northwest Coast from Prince William sound in Alaska to Queen Charlotte sound.

16. Ucah, he was called by Ingraham. His principal village was at Skincuttle inlet on the east coast of Queen Charlotte islands.

17. Cloak Bay lies between North island and Graham island, the northerly of the two large islands of the Queen Charlotte group. It was discovered and named by Dixon in 1787 because of the number of sea-otter cloaks he obtained there.

18. This is the chief mentioned in Meares' voyage under the name of Blakow-Concehaw, with whom Captain Douglas exchanged names in June, 1789.

19. Marchand (Voyages, London, 1801) found celery, parsley, purslain, water-cress, peas and vetches growing along the western shores of this island in August, 1791.

20. Probably Bonilla island, near Banks island, on the eastern side of Hecate strait. It is 550 feet high and was originally named Hatch's island by Captain Gray in 1791, for Charles Hatch, one of the owners of the *Columbia*. The charts of that time were mere fragments made by the traders. There was no real chart until Vancouver's was made.

21. No other trader mentions a chief by this name. He probably was Clue, a chief whose village, Tanu, was and is located about twenty miles south of Cumsheewa, on the eastern coast of Queen Charlotte islands.

22. Cumsheewa was a powerful chief whose village was on the northern side of Cumsheewa inlet.

23. In 1793, Cumsheewa and his tribe cut off the schooner used as a tender by the *Jefferson* of Boston, Captain Roberts, and massacred all the crew but one.

24. Skidegate, another prominent chief, described by Ingraham as a man of low stature and seemingly feeble constitution with a mild and agreeable countenance.

25. The *Gustavus* was making a successful voyage. The traders usually left the coast about the first of September.

26. The highest summit of the San Cristobal range is 4,500 feet.

27. This latitude is clearly wrong for it places the *Gustavus* in the vicinity of Norton sound in Bering Sea, where the fur traders never went and, moreover, it would have been impossible for her to have covered the distance in the eleven days that had elapsed since she passed Cape St. James. The high land seen probably was Mount St. Elias, in latitude 60°, which is over 18,000 feet high.

28. At Prince William sound, Captain Cook found that some of the elderly men wore large, thick and straight beards. He also describes the perforation of the septum of the nose by the quill feathers of small birds.

29. The *Grace* was purchased from an American by a Mr. Douglas, a Scotchman, and placed under the protection of the American flag in order to avoid the monopoly of the South Sea Company. Douglas had been in command of the Meares' ship, the *Iphigenia*, when that vessel was seized by the Spaniards in 1789. Ingraham says that he died on this voyage, in 1791, between the Hawaiian islands and China.

30. The threatened war arising from the capture of Meares' vessels at Nootka sound in 1789, but which was settled by the Nootka Convention in 1790.

31. This was Norfolk sound, so named by Dixon in 1787, but now known as Sitka sound, Alaska.

32. This is one of the earliest references to the totem poles or heraldic columns of the Haida Indians. The first traders carried on trade off shore, as the ship lay to, and in consequence never saw the villages of the Indians.

33. Capt. John Kendrick, in command of the *Lady Washington*, usually called the *Washington*, had altered her rig from a sloop to a brig in 1790-1791 and in March, 1791, had sailed from Lark's Bay, sometimes called Dirty Butter Bay, three or four leagues from Macao, and arrived at Houston Stewart channel, near Cape St. James, on June 13th.

34. Typhoon. In strict usage this term is confined to the China Sea.

35. Now called Kealakekua Bay.

36. Kiana, a chief from Atooi, one of the Hawaiian Islands, whom Meares had taken to China in 1787 and returned the next year.

37. Vancouver says that it was Kameiamoko who captured the vessel. The schooner *Fair American*, commanded by Captain Metcalf's son, a young man of eighteen, was captured in Toyahyah (Kawaihae) Bay, in March, 1790.

38. Tapa or kapa cloth, meaning *beaten*. It was thrown away when soiled.

39. Atooi (Kauai), discovered by Captain Cook.

40. Not to be confused with the Ladrone islands which lie to the northeastward of the Philippines. Probably the Grand Lema island, "a ruling mark" for the entrance to Macao Roads.

41. The Chinese were at war with Russia and had prohibited all trade in furs under the mistaken idea that all fur ships in some way were concerned with the Russians.

42. He was also the agent for the *Grace* and had resided at Macao for some years.

43. The *Lady Washington* did not, however, actually depart for the Northwest Coast until nine months later, in September, 1792.

44. The *Eleanore* was a New York vessel and was trading on the Northwest Coast in 1789 and perhaps the previous year. Captain Metcalf was killed by the natives of Queen Charlotte Islands in 1794 when they captured his brig and massacred all the crew except one man.

45. Fort Spielwyk, built by the Dutch in 1683. An English factory was established here in 1603 and continued until the massacre of the agents in 1677.

46. Blight's Cape, named for Lieutenant Bligh, the master of the *Discovery* and later famous in connection with the mutiny of the *Bounty*.

47. The bottle had been left by Monsieur de Kerguelen in December, 1773, when he took possession of the land for the King of France. Captain Cook found the bottle and wrote on the other side of the parchment left by de Kerguelen that the English vessels *Resolution* and *Discovery* had visited the spot in December, 1776.

48. These whalers hailed from Dunkirk and other French ports, because the French government offered inducements to Americans to emigrate and engage in the fishery.

49. The mere sight of land, the residence on land and the partial burial in the earth have all been found effective in the cure of scurvy. Bering was half-buried in the sand of Bering's Isle, in 1741, in an attempt to cure him of scurvy.

50. From a memorandum furnished by Prof. S. F. Bemis, it appears that Bartlett at one time secured his release from a Dutch ship at the Cape of Good Hope by declaring himself to be a British subject. On the general subject of impressions at that time, see "American Historical Review," vol. xxviii, pp. 228-247.

INDEX

- Abercrombie, Sir Ralph, 162, 164.
- Abergavanna (*ship*), 291.
- Aborn, Captain, 96.
- Aboukir Bay, Battle of, 159.
- Aitken, Captain, 143.
- Ajax (*frigate*), 162, 164.
- Albatross eggs, 28, 34.
- Albion (*whaler*), 210.
- Albrook, Joseph, 14, 22, 29, 47, 50, 57, 65, 75, 76.
- Alexandria, Siege of, 163.
- Amelia (*whaler*), 144, 147, 151.
- America (*whaler*), 333, 335.
- Anacan Islands, 3.
- Anchor (*whaler*), 119.
- Ansel, Samuel, 14, 22, 29, 30, 32, 45, 47, 49, 50, 56, 58, 64.
- Antelope (*ship*), 284.
- Antony, Jose, 293, 315.
- Louis, 294, 298.
- Manuel, 293.
- Armstrong, John, 290.
- Ascension Island, 199.
- Asp (*whaler*), 72.
- Astraea (*Spanish frigate*), 213.
- Bailey, Capt. Samuel G., 89, 92, 96.
- Baker, William, 220, 225.
- Balcarra, William, 163.
- Bantom Roads, Java, 321.
- Barefoot, Captain, 151.
- Barkley, Capt. Charles, 339.
- Barkley Sound, 339.
- Barnard, Capt. Charles H., sails from New York, 1; arrives at Falkland Islands, 2; discovers wreck of ship *Isabella*, 6; rescues the party, 13; is deserted by ship, 14; hardships suffered, 20; accounts of wild hogs, 24; captures large sea lion, 27; is deserted by his companions, 30; life while alone, 32; finds peat, 39; companions return, 46; goes after seal skins, 56; rescued by English whalers, 70; lands at Callao, 75; goes ashore on Massafuero Island, 77; taken off by ship *Milkwood*, 90; visits Hawaiian Islands, 93; reaches Whampoa and takes passage for United States, 96; in severe storm off coast of Natal, 97; reaches Martha's Vineyard, 102.
- Barnard, Valentine, 1, 103.
- Barnet, Capt. Thomas, 291, 293.
- Bartlett, Captain, 295.
- Bartlett, John, sails from Boston in the *Massachusetts*, 287; reaches Wampoa, 291; ships on board the snow *Gustavus*, for a voyage to the Northwest Coast, 291; ship's list, 293; reaches Northwest Coast, 295; accounts of natives, 297; attacked by natives, 299; on short rations, 306; reaches

- Hawaiian Islands, 308; natives attempt to capture the brig, 311; in severe storm, 314-316; saves his otter skins, 318; ships on board a Portuguese ship, 319; ships on board the *Lady Washington* for another North-west Coast voyage but does not sail, 320; ships on board the snow *Eleanore* for Isle of France, 321; sails on sealing voyage to Kurguelen Land, 323; adventures with the natives at Madagascar, 323-327 sails from Isle of France on a Dunkirk whaler for the Mozambique Channel, 330; sees Hottentots kill a bullock, 334; is pressed on board an English man-of-war, 336.
- Bartlett's Sound, 295.
- Batavia, 289, 290.
- Beaver (*ship*), 129.
- Beaver Island, Falkland Islands, 14, 15, 28, 42, 44, 58, 66.
- Belvidere (*ship*), 291.
- Bemis, Prof. S. F., 343.
- Bengal (*ship*), 99.
- Benjamin (*whaler*), 335.
- Bent, Robert, 215.
- Bering, Captain, 343.
- Blake, Nicholas, 286.
- Bligh, Captain, 12.
- Lieutenant, 343.
- Boit, —, 339.
- Bombay Castle (*man-of-war*), 157.
- Bond, Captain, 113.
- Boston, Mass., 288.
- Botany Bay, 10, 12.
- Bradley, John, 325.
- Briggs, Daniel, 287.
- British Tar (*whaler*), 214.
- Brittania (*man-of-war*), 156, 158.
- Brittania (*whaler*), 214.
- Brooks, Captain, 8, 13.
- Brothers (*vessel*), 291.
- Brown, —, 216, 218, 221, 222, 224, 284.
- Robert, 286.
- Thomas, 281, 286.
- William, 286.
- Buckle, Capt. William, 72, 74, 77.
- Buenos Ayres, 12.
- Bunker, Capt. Obed, 331-334.
- Burgoyne, General, 108.
- Butler, John, 129.
- Callao, Peru, 75, 76.
- Canton, 1, 96, 287, 291, 292, 317.
- Cannibalism, 240.
- Cape de Verd Islands, 2.
- Cape Horn, 74.
- Cape St. Vincent, Battle off, 155.
- Carlton, Samuel, 285.
- Carnetic (*ship*), 292.
- Cartright, —, 324, 325.
- Chapman, Leonard, 293.
- Charlestown, —, 291.
- Chase, Captain, 268, 285.
- Capt. Obed, 3.
- Chesapeake (*frigate*), 73.

- Chinese hogs, 292.
- Clandings, —, 94.
- Cloak Bay, 340.
- Cochrane, Capt. Alexander F., 162.
- Cocos Islands, 215.
- Cole, —, 91, 92.
- Collis, Lieutenant, 158.
- Columbia (*schooner*), 94, 96.
- Columbia (*ship*), 338, 340.
- Conception, Chili, 210.
- Convict ship, 136.
- Cook, Capt. James, 121, 123, 137, 308, 328, 341, 343.
- Cook's River, Northwest Coast of America, 124, 131.
- Corjue (*whaler*), 335.
- Corsica, 155.
- Cottle, Capt. Obed, 212.
- Cotton Planter (*ship*), 115.
- Cow Mooala (*Tonga chief*), 270-275.
- Cox, John Henry, 292, 317, 338.
- Cozus, Samuel, 75.
- Cuffnells (*ship*), 284.
- Cyrus (*whaler*), 76.
- Davis, George, 8.
- Davy, Captain, 76.
- Dawson, Thomas, 281, 286.
- Day, Captain, 76.
- Deaman, Antony, 294.
- Decenter, Manuel, 293.
- Delano, Amasa, 336.
- Delegoa Bay, 330.
- Dick, Sir John, 129.
- Dickson, —, 130.
- Discovery (*ship*), 343.
- Dixon, —, 220-222.
- Capt. George, 118, 131.
- Dolphin (*whaler*), 332.
- Donnison, Captain, 290.
- Dorset, Sarah, 138.
- Douglas, Captain, 305, 306, 340, 341.
- Dublin, Ireland, 10.
- Duck, Captain, 208, 216, 217, 223.
- Duke de Chartres (*man-of-war*), 161.
- Duncan, Admiral, 153.
- Dunkin, William, 72.
- Dunkirk, 343.
- Durgin, Captain, 328.
- Durie, Captain, 7, 10, 13.
- Eagleston, Capt. John H., 184, 193.
- Earl St. Vincent (*whaler*), 209.
- East India Company's ships, 284.
- Edgar, Lieutenant, 137.
- Edgar (*man-of-war*), 153, 154.
- Edinburgh, 165.
- Edward (*whaler*), 332, 335.
- Egypt, 164.
- Eleanore (*brig*), 309.
- Eleanore (*snov*), 321, 326-329, 343.
- Eliza (*whaler*), 76, 77, 90.
- Embargo law, 2.
- Emery, —, 194.
- William, 293, 317.
- Enterprise (*ship*), 95.
- Essex (*frigate*), 73.

- Evans, Henry, 293.
 Everett, Captain, 95.
 Eversfield, Thomas, 286.
 Fair American (*schooner*), 342.
 Falkland Islands, 1-74, 119.
 Fanning, Edmund, 1, 6.
 Favorite (*brig*), 279, 283, 285, 286.
 Ferrel, Nance, 140.
 Fiji Islands, 183-191, 193-198, 270-274.
 Fingal (*ship*), 99.
 Fisk, Captain, 279, 283.
 Fitch, Capt. Obed, 330.
 Fitzgerald, Lord Charles, 336. Robert, 285.
 Foley, Captain, 158.
 Folger, Captain, 214.
 Foot, Malachi, 291, 293.
 Ford, William, 284.
 Francisco, Capt. Jose, 319.
 Freer, Thomas, 294, 315.
 French, Thomas, 289.
 Gallapagos Islands, 77, 90.
 Gardiner, Capt. Aaron, 332.
 Capt. Cager, 332.
 Capt. Thuten, 333.
 Geese, 67.
 General Scott (*ship*), 97.
 Gibraltar, 162.
 Gibson, William, 293.
 Gilbert Islands, 271.
 Gilchrist, Harry, 2.
 Goa, 318.
 Goats, 85.
 Goliah (74 gun ship), 154, 156-162.
 Gore, Captain, 129.
 Grace (*brig*), 305, 341, 342.
 Granada, W. I., 115.
 Gray, Captain Le, 290.
 Capt. Robert, 339, 340.
 Samuel, 293, 305.
 Green, Jacob, 1, 14, 22, 29, 50, 57, 65, 71.
 Greenland, 113, 114.
 Grounard, Joseph, 291, 293.
 Guardian (*ship*), 136.
 Gustavus (*snow*), 291, 292, 318, 338, 341.
 Hale, Capt. George, 333.
 Halsey, Captain, 99.
 Hammond, —, 332.
 Hannah, Captain, 339.
 Harris, John, 291, 293.
 Hatch, Charles, 340.
 Havens, Tenant, 1, 6.
 Hawaiian Islands, 93-95, 121-124, 130, 217, 308-314.
 Hays, Sir Henry B., 10-13.
 Head, Benjamin, 291, 293.
 Hearsey, John, 285.
 Herald (*ship*), 99.
 Hess, Captain, 332.
 Higgins, Jeremiah, 269, 285.
 Highton, Capt. George, 8, 9, 12.
 Hoay, James, 220, 225.
 Hogs, account of wild, 24, 52, 58.
 Holt, General, 7, 9.
 Hope, Admiral, 153.
 Hope (*brig*), 313.

- Hope (*ship*), 3, 268, 285.
 Hope (*whaler*), 119.
 Hottentots, 334.
 Howard, William, 293.
 Howay, Judge F. W., 338.
 Hunt, Captain, 99.
 Hunter, Thomas, 2.
 Hussey, Capt. Isaac, 335.
 Imperial Eagle (*ship*), 339.
 Impressment of sailors, 150.
 Indian vocabulary, 337.
 Indispensable (*whaler*), 72, 76, 77.
 Inflexible (*man-of-war*), 154.
 Ingham, Henry, 1.
 Ingraham, Captain, 313.
 Ino (*brig*), 322, 327.
 Iphigenia (*ship*), 341.
 Isabella (*ship*), wreck of, 7, 47.
 Isle of France, 322.
 Jason (*privateer ship*), 107, 108.
 Jason Islands, 2.
 Java Head, 289.
 Jefferson (*sloop*), 340.
 Jennings, Captain, 94, 96.
 Jervis, Sir John, 154.
 Johnson, —, 336.
 Christian, 335.
 Jones, William, 117.
 Julia (*brig-of-war*), 100.
 Kelly, James, 220, 225.
 Kendrick, Capt. John, 290, 307, 320, 338, 342.
 Kenneday, Captain, 322.
 Kenny, Capt. John, 72, 73.
 Kerwin, Mrs. Nelly, 139.
 King, Antony Jose, 293.
 King George (*ship*), 118, 128, 131, 132.
 Knights, Capt. John B., sails from Salem in the brig *Spy*, 168; reaches New Zealand, 170; account of the natives, 171-182; sails for the Fiji Islands, 182; narrowly escapes being cut off by the natives, 186; account of the natives, 188-190; returns to New Zealand and again sails for the Fijis, 191; life on the island of Rotumah, 194; discovers an island and names it New Salem, 200; is attacked by natives, 201; reaches Manilla and sells his vessel, 207.
 Knowles, Capt. Charles H., 153, 157.
 Knox, Tom, 93.
 Kurguelen Land, 323, 328.
 Ladrone Islands, 132.
 Lady Julian (*ship*), 136, 144.
 Lady Washington (*sloop*), 290, 320, 342.
 L'Orient (*man-of-war*), 160.
 Lark (*vessel*), 94.
 Lark's Bay, China, 292, 317, 342.
 Laurient (*ship*), 289.
 Lawrence, Joseph, 127.
 Leveret (*whaler*), 331.

- Leviathan (*whaler*), 113.
 Lima, Peru, 75.
 Lisbon, Portugal, 149.
 Loan (*whaler*), 171.
 London, Lieutenant, 8, 13.
 London, Eng., 106.
 Lott, Andrew, 2.
 Louder, James, 14, 29, 46, 49,
 57, 64, 70, 75, 76.
 Lourden (*ship*), 295.
 Lovis, Robert, 319.
 Low, Captain, 322.
 Luce, Capt. Jason, 171, 172.
 Lucy (*privateer*), 212, 214.
 Lunt, Thomas, 291, 293.
 Lush, —, 96.
 Macao, China, 284, 290, 317.
 McAskill Island, 204.
 Macay, Alexander, 285.
 McColanng, John, 293.
 McColloff, Captain, 204.
 Mace, Francis de, 325.
 McIntire, —, 317, 318.
 Madagascar, 323-327.
 Magoun, —, 184.
 Malcolm, Rear-Admiral, 100.
 Malta, 161, 164.
 Mando, John, 294.
 Manley, Capt. John, 107, 108.
 Marchand, —, 340.
 Mariner, Magnus, 215.
 Mariner, William, sails from
 Gravesend in the privateer
 Port au Prince, bound for
 the South Seas, 208; cap-
 tures prizes and fights a los-
 ing battle in the harbor of
 Conception, Chili, 210; has
- an engagement with a Span-
 ish frigate, 213; reaches the
 Tonga Islands where his
 ship is captured by the na-
 tives, 218; is befriended by
 the King, 226; the ship is
 broken up, 228; is taken on
 an expedition against anoth-
 er chief, 230; is given a fos-
 ter-mother, 232; takes part
 in an attack on a fortress,
 235; narrowly escapes death,
 239; cannibal feast, 240; a
 military review, 243; takes
 part in an expedition against
 another island, 245; the as-
 sault on the fortress and es-
 cape from death, 251; cruel-
 ty shown to prisoners, 259;
 adventure with one of the
 King's wives, 262; given a
 plantation, 267; arrival of
 ship *Hope*, 268; unfortunate
 sneeze, 275; escapes to brig
Favorite, 278; preservation
 of ship's journal, 281.
 Marshall, —, 94.
 Martha's Vineyard, 102.
 Mason, Capt. Rishworth, 207.
 Massachusetts (*ship*), 287,
 336, 338.
 Massafuero Island, 77-90.
 Mattison, —, 9.
 Meares, Capt. John, 129, 341.
 Medcalf, Captain, 95.
 Mercer, William, 148, 150.
 Mercury (*schooner*), 285.
 Metcalf, —, 342.
 Robert, 322, 327.
 Captain Simon, 292, 309,
 321, 329, 343.

- Millwood (*ship*), 89, 90.
 Minerva (*whaler*), 212.
 Missionaries, 175, 180.
 Montague, Admiral, 107.
 Moscow (*ship*), 207.
 Mozambique Channel, 330.
 Murray & Son, John B., 1.
 Myers, Jacob, 284.
 Nancy (*vessel*), 291.
 Nanina (*brig*), 1, 12, 103.
 Neptune, Father, 2, 142.
 Neutrality (*whaler*), 214.
 New Salem Island, 200.
 New Zealand, 170-182, 191,
 192.
 Nicol, John, early life, 105; en-
 ters the navy and serves
 during the American Revo-
 lution, 107; ships on a
 Greenland whaler, 113; sails
 for the West Indies, 115;
 ships with Captain Portlock
 on a voyage to the North-
 west Coast of North Amer-
 ica, 118; reaches Hawaiian
 Islands, 121; life on the
 Northwest Coast, 125;
 reaches China, 132; sails for
 New South Wales in a con-
 vict ship, 136; ships on a
 South Sea whaler, 144;
 reaches London and escapes
 impressment, 150; sails on
 the *Nottingham* bound for
 China, 151; is pressed and
 serves on the *Venerable* and
 other ships, 153; in battle off
 Cape St. Vincent, 155; in
 battle of Aboukir Bay, 159;
 leaves the sea and marries
 his cousin, 165.
 Niger (*whaler*), 332.
 Nimrod (*bark*), 204.
 Nimrod (*whaler*), 76.
 Nootka (*ship*), 129.
 Nootka Sound, 130, 131.
 Northrup, Captain, 94, 99.
 Northwest Coast of North
 America, 124-131, 295-308,
 320.
 Nottingham (*East India man*),
 151-153, 165.
 O'Caen (*whaler*), 217.
 Owl, 36.
 Parish, John, 269, 285.
 Parker, George, 146.
 Sir Peter, 336.
 Pease, Bazilla, 1.
 Peat, 39.
 Pedlar (*brig*), 94, 99.
 Pen (*whaler*), 330.
 Penguins, 40.
 Perez, Manuel, 286.
 Peru (*bark*), 184.
 Phillips, Stephen C., 168.
 Phoenix (*brig*), 328.
 Pinckney, Thomas, 336.
 Pitcher, Moll, 288.
 Pitt, William, 139.
 Planter (*whaler*), 333, 335.
 Port au Prince (*privateer*),
 208, 218, 284, 286.
 Port Cox, 339.
 Port Jackson, N. S. W., 7, 12,
 142, 273.
 Porter, —, 327.
 Captain, 73.

- Portlock, Capt. Nathaniel, 118,
121, 125, 126, 128, 130, 136.
Portuguese sailors, 147.
Power, William, 139.
Prince, Capt. Job, 287, 292.
Prince William's Sound, 124,
129, 341.
Proteus (*man-of-war*), 107,
157.
Queen Charlotte (*ship*), 118,
131.
Ramillies (*frigate*), 162.
Reeves, Captain, 107.
Resolution (*ship*), 343.
Rio Janeiro, 147.
Roberts, Captain, 340.
John, 286.
Rogers, Captain, 151.
Rooks, 34, 37.
Rotch, —, 330.
Rotumah Island, Life on, 194.
Roundy, Israel W., 168.
Royal Admiral (*ship*), 291.
Royal William (*guardship*),
162.
St. Cruz (*ship*), 319.
St. Helena, 85, 99, 100, 135.
St. Jago, Island of, 119.
St. Paul Island, 169.
Sally (*ship*), 322.
Samoa Islands, 271.
San Benito Islands, 216.
San Pedro (*Spanish vessel*),
214.
Sandal wood, 271, 273.
Sandwich Islands, 93-95, 121-
124, 130, 217.
Sanguin Island, 294.
Santa Rosa del Calmo (*Span-
ish brig*), 214.
Savage, Captain, 154.
Scotland, John, 284.
Scott's Islands, 339.
Scurvey, 343.
Sea lions, 146.
Sea Otter (*vessel*), 339.
Sea pie and frolic, 334.
Seals, fur, 49, 60, 146.
Seaman, William, 2.
Shafford, Doctor, 94.
Shannon (*frigate*), 73.
Sharks, 122.
Shark's teeth weapons, 271.
Shaw, Nathaniel, 338.
Shaw & Randall, 287.
Shiels, Captain, 144, 147.
Shute, —, 96.
Singleton, William, 285.
Sir Edward Huse (*ship*), 291.
Snakeroot, 131.
Snow, — type of vessel, 338.
South Sea Company, 339, 341.
Spear, John, 2.
Spencer, Mary Ann, 9, 13.
Spy (*brig*), 168, 207.
Stevenson, William, 286.
Storms, Severe, 97, 168, 314-
316.
Sunday Island, 183.
Surprise (*frigate*), 107.
Surprise (*man-of-war*), 157.
Swain, Captain, 335.
Swan Island, Falkland Is., 17.

- Terrapin, 91.
Tigre (*74 gun ship*), 161.
Tonga Islands, 218; natives
capture the *Port au Prince*
(privateer), 222; the ship is
broken up, 228; account of
an expedition against an-
other chief, 230; the attack
on the fortress, 235; canni-
bal feast, 240; military re-
view, 243; the attack upon
another island, 245; the as-
sault on the fortress, 251;
cruelty shown to prisoners,
259; capture of women on the
islands, 265; death of the
King, 275; breaking of
heads, 275.
Tortoise, 91.
Tortoise shell, 200.
Towell, William, 285.
Treadwell, Charles, 291, 296,
299.
Tripe, Samuel, 289.
Trumbull (*ship*), 96, 99.
Turner, William, 209, 210.
Tushook bogs, 42.
Vannable, John, 290.
Venerable (*man-of-war*), 153.
Venger (*lare boat*), 290.
Vibberts, Captain, 99.
Walker, Captain, 76-79, 90.
Wall, John, 291, 293, 315.
Washington (*sloop*), 290, 291,
292, 338, 342.
Waters, James, 281, 285.
Watson, John, 285.
Whale ships, 3.
Whaling, 74, 75, 77, 114, 145,
216, 330-336.
Whampoa, 133, 291.
Whipsey, —, 333.
David, 186, 187.
Capt. James, 325.
Whitelam, Sarah, 140, 144,
151, 165.
Whitman, —, 96.
Whitney, David, 293, 297.
Wickannish, 295.
Wilcox, —, 96.
Wildman (*ship*), 75.
Williams, Hugh, 269, 285.
Williamson, —, 327.
Thomas, 291, 293.
Willis, George, 130.
Wines, John, 1.
Wood, George, 220, 285.
Women, Condition of Tonga
Island, 265-267.
Wyld, Robert, 146.
Young, Captain, 115.
John, 94, 95.
Young Nanina (*shallop*), 2.